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THOMAS LODGE AS A DRAMATIST.

A Thesis

Presented to the Department of Philosophy  
of the

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

MARGARET EMMA NICHOLAS FRISER.

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## THOMAS LODGE AS A DRAMATIST.

### I.

#### General Career of Thomas Lodge as an Author and as a Man.

The genius of Thomas Lodge, like that of the majority of the Elizabethan writers, was not confined to one species of literature, but found expression at one time or other in his career in nearly all the forms known to that most versatile age.

As a writer of lyrics he exhibits great facility of expression and unusual variety and originality of form: in the field of romance he was one of the most popular writers of his day, and his novels even yet, cumbersome as they are, do not lack interest: as a satirist he was considered one of the first and best of his time,<sup>1</sup> while in the drama he must have attained considerable reputation in his own day since Meres mentions him in his "Palladis Tamia," 1598, among those who were "best for comedy."<sup>2</sup>

1. Cf. Gosse, Memoir: "Introducer into English of the romantic epic, of the heroic satire and of the heroic epistle."

Cf. Greene: "Greatsworth of wit," p. 156.

Cf. Meres' Palladis Tamia, p. 100 (Eng. Garner, vol. II.)

Cf. Athen. Oxon: "he was esteemed (not Joseph Hall of Emanuel College in Cambridge excepted) as best for satire among Englishmen."

2. Meres' "Palladis Tamia." P. 99.

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Typical thus of his times in the versatility of his genius the career of Lodge as a man was also distinctly Elizabethan, and becomes imbued with interest when viewed in the light of his writings. The desire of knowing and experiencing, the curiosity and activity which characterized the spirit of the age are amply exemplified in his long life, which seems to have been industrious as it was adventurous. It would seem almost unnecessary, however, to recapitulate the well known facts about the non-literary life of Lodge, but that his career as an author seems so closely connected with and interdependent upon early surroundings, education and after associations that it is hardly possible to give any adequate account of his intellectual life and its results, without including some mention of the circumstances surrounding him as an author, and of the influences under which his works were produced.

The date of his birth is not accurately known but is given about 1557 or 1558. He was of a good Lincolnshire family,<sup>1</sup> his father being a man of sufficient wealth and weight to have held the office of Lord Mayor of London from 1562-64, and his mother being the daughter of Sir William Laxton<sup>2</sup> who was Lord Mayor from 1542-1544. Lady Anne

1. According to Wood, but some authorities incline to think that the family came from Shropshire. V. Carl: *Angelia* X.5.239 & *Machyn's Diary*, P.375. (Camden Soc. 1848).

Ingleby says "born at West Ham and resided at Low Leyton." v. "Was Thomas Lodge an Actor?" P.5.

However, Lodge himself says in his *Treatise of the Plague*: "This citie wherein I was bred and brought up," which would seem to indicate London as his birthplace.

2. Sir William Laxton was founder of a Grammar School at Oundle, v. *Intro. to Machyn's Diary*, P.VII.





Lodge seems, moreover, to have been a woman known to and admired by literary men, as is evidenced by the dedication to her (in 1579) of the "Myrror of Modestie" by Thomas Salter.<sup>1</sup> On the twenty-third of March, 1570,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Lodge entered the Merchant Taylor's School,<sup>3</sup> and about 1573 proceeded to Oxford,<sup>4</sup> where he became servitour to Edward Hoby of Trinity College, and is apparently the same Thomas Lodge who was admitted to the degree of B.A. on July eighth, 1577, and who supplicated for that of M. A. on February third, 1580-1.<sup>4</sup> While Lodge was at Oxford there were, as it has been observed by Mr. Gosse in his Seventeenth Century Studies, three distinct schools of letters existing in England. First that of the court represented by Sidney, Fulke Greville and Dyer, the Cambridge school led by Spenser and his admirers, and the Oxford School of which John Lyly, Peele and Watson were the chief representatives. John Lyly graduated in 1573, the year in which Lodge entered Oxford, but as he seems to have resided at Magdalen College for some time after taking his degree, it is altogether probable that he and Lodge may have been personally acquainted at this time. At all events, Lodge was soon

1. David Laing on Lodge in Shak. soc. Pub. 1853, pp. XIV & XV.

2. Athenaeum, Oct. 21, 1882.

3. Athen. Oxon.

4. Dict. of Nat. Biog. ref. to Oxford Univ. Reg. Oxford Hist. Soc. Vol. II. Pt. III. p. 62.





to be very strongly influenced by Luby's style. The friendship of Lodge with another of his contemporaries, Peele, who left Oxford probably about 1581, seems to have been better substantiated, and it has been thought that it was through Peele's influence that Lodge became interested in the revival of dramatic art.<sup>1</sup> According to Wood Lodge began to write poetry while yet at Oxford,<sup>2</sup> and somewhat later gained a reputation as a satirist. One writer on Lodge, of more recent date, not only goes so far as to state that he wrote satires while yet at Oxford, but that these satires were of so daring a character as to incur the displeasure of the Oxford authorities, who sent him down for a time on this account,<sup>3</sup> but I can find absolutely no proof of this nor of various other statements made in the highly sensational account of Lodge to which reference has been made. Certainly the more reliable Wood gives us to understand that it was not until after Lodge had left Oxford and was fairly established in London that he became known for his satires.

Lodge's first appearance in print, however, seems to have been made in October or November, 1579, when he published "Honest Excuses; A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage Plays" against Gosson's "School of Abuse."<sup>4</sup> Out of this well known controversy concerning

1. Gosse: Seventeenth Century Studies.

2. Athen. Oxon. II. 382.

3. J. Buckham: Poet Lore, 3: 601. 1891.

4. V. Carl: Anglia X.s. 241, 242 & 286.





plays and players there arose in later days another, or at least a difference of opinion, as to whether Lodge himself had ever been an actor. This question, however, has been finally settled, so far as any present known proofs are concerned, by C. M. Ingleby<sup>1</sup> in his exhaustive little pamphlet entitled, "Was Thomas Lodge an Actor?"

For some inexplicable reason Collier seems to have been anxious that people should believe that Thomas Lodge himself trod the boards, and, with this end in view, he first makes a misquotation from Gosson's "Plays Confuted in Five Actions," asserting that Gosson speaks of Lodge as "a vagrant person visited by the heavy hand of God."<sup>2</sup> In the second place he repeats this spurious quotation in his Introduction to the Reprint of Gosson's "School of Abuse."<sup>3</sup> And, in the third place, in his "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn,"<sup>4</sup> we read about "the celebrated Thomas Lodge who had been an actor and a dramatic poet." Not content with these wanton misstatements, however, Mr. Collier goes so far as to make certain alterations towards the support of his theory, in a document signed by Philip Henslowe.<sup>5</sup>

1. V. Ingleby: "Was Thomas Lodge an Actor?" London, 1868. Cf. also Notes & Queries, 6th Ser. XI. 107 & 415.

2. Dodsley's Old Plays, Ed. Collier, Vol. VII. 100.

V. Collier: Bib. account of Rarest Books, vol. II. 245.

V. Collier: Annals of Stage, vol. III. 213, note. & vol. II. 442.

3. V. Shak. Soc. pub. 1841.

4. V. Shak. Soc. pub. 1841.

5. V. Memoirs of Edward Alleyn. p. 45.





Mr. Ingleby in his clear and admirable little pamphlet takes up these points one by one, showing in the first place that Gosson "does not call Lodge 'a vagrant person visited by the heavy hand of God' " but....."that he was by repute 'hunted by the heavy hand of God, and become little better than a vagrant &c.'"

Mr. Ingleby goes on to say that "not only is there no allusion whatever to Lodge as an actor in any of Gosson's works, but what is said of him is pro tanto an evidence that he was a poet and dramatist, and not a player."<sup>1</sup> This position he supports by four quotations from Gosson, and concludes by saying that "if Lodge had been an actor, Gosson must have heard of it; and it is quite inconceivable, having regard to the malicious and venomous character of the beast, that, having knowledge of the fact, he would have failed to make a point of it. The utter absence of any allusion to Lodge as an actor is the most satisfactory indirect proof of the negative that we can have."<sup>2</sup>

Having thus disposed of Collier's misrepresentation of Gosson, Ingleby proceeds to treat the question of his Henslowe forgery and, by means of an exact fac simile of the document in question, shows us what and to what end were Collier's alterations, and proves that there is absolutely nothing in the Henslowe document as it originally stands to support the assumption that Lodge was an actor.

My apology for going thus minutely into this question must be twofold, because in the consideration of the dramatic career of

1. V. Ingleby: Was Thomas Lodge an Actor? P.9.

2. V. Ingleby, P.11.





Lodge it has been of great interest to me to know whether there were any foundation in fact for the theory that he had a practical knowledge of the stage from the actor's standpoint,—a supposition supported after Collier by Mr. Reardon,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Charles Knight, Mr. David Laing,<sup>2</sup> Ward and others— and, secondly, because it has recently been my good fortune to see a copy of that rare pamphlet of Mr. Ingleby's, which Carl bitterly complains of not having been able to consult, since it is "according to a foolish English custom privately printed."<sup>3</sup>

In the same year which marks the beginning of the controversy with Gosson appears the first published poem of Thomas Lodge, which bears the title "An Epitaph of the Lady Anne Lodge" and which was licensed December twenty-third, 1579. At the time of the publication of this poem, Lodge, following the usual course of education of the gentlemen of the time, was a student of Lincoln's Inn, having been admitted April twenty-sixth, 1578, and it has been argued, from the nature of Lady Anne Lodge's will, and from the omission of Thomas Lodge's name from the will of his father, who died in 1583, that the poet about this time had incurred the displeasure of his family, owing probably to the neglect of his studies and to evil associations.<sup>4</sup> However, the facts of the case hardly warrant this assumption, and, in fact, according to the argument of Mr. Gosse,

1. V. Shak. Soc. Papers 1847, P. 145.

2. Corrected, however, in his Art. in the Ency. Brit.

3. V. Carl: Anglia X.s.243.

4. V. Dict. of Nat. Bioḡ. Art. Tho. Lodge

V. Carl: Anglia X. s. 240.



go to prove a contrary opinion.

In the will of Lady Anne Lodge especial mention is made of her son Thomas, and to him part of his mother's property is bequeathed towards "his finding at his book at Lincoln's Inn" and the rest to come to him at the age of twenty-five, with this provision, that should he cease to be what "a good student ought to be" this property should, on his father's decision, be divided among his brothers.

As Mr. Gosse remarks, "it is unsafe to argue from this caution that Lodge was already a youth of unsteady character; on the contrary, he must have shown particular powers of intelligence to be thus selected among six children as his mother's sole legatee. There was probably some understanding on this point entered into between the father and mother, for in Sir Thomas Lodge's will the five other children are provided for, but the poet is not mentioned. It was perhaps recognized that Thomas had already received his share of the family estate direct from his mother."<sup>1</sup> But, although it cannot be admitted on the evidence adduced that Lodge was in these days in straightened circumstances, there is reason to believe that at a later time he shared the impecuniosity of many other of his fellow-dramatists.<sup>2</sup>

1. V. Gosse: *Seventeenth Century Studies*, pp. 6 & 7.

2. V. *Memoires of Alleyn*, pp. 42-46.

N. However might not Lodge's unwillingness to pay the tailor's bill here alluded to, and for which Henslowe went bail for him, be accounted for, not by the continued lack of money through seven years, but by an injured sense of justice in the thought that he had done enough work for Henslowe to make it only right that he should pay this debt for him. Toppin's letter seems to indicate this.





From 1579 until within a year or two of his death, which occurred in 1625, Lodge continued his literary work, although not by any means devoting his whole attention to literature. For a time, according to his own statement, he "fell from books to arms,"<sup>1</sup> and later, about 1585-6 (according to Carl; 1588, according to other authorities) made a voyage to the Islands of Terceras and the Canaries with Captain Clark,<sup>2</sup> on which voyage he wrote his celebrated "Rosalynde."

In August, 1591, he again sailed with Thomas Cavendish, the circumnavigator, for South America, and visited the Straits of Magellan and Brazil. Of this voyage "A Margarite of America" seems to have been one immediate result.

These sea voyages are a somewhat unique experience, and show Thomas Lodge to have been a man of adventurous spirit, fully alive to the opportunities of the age, and always ready for new undertakings.

After publishing his "Phyllis" (1593)<sup>3</sup>, his "Life and Death of William Longbeard" (1593), "The Looking Glass for London and England" (1594), "The Wounds of Civil War" (1594), the "Fig for Momus" (1595), &c., &c., his restless spirit again craved change of occupation, and about 1598 he took up the study of medicine,

1. V. Epistle before his "Rosalynde."

2. V. Leclercq Nav. Hist. p. 2036. Ref. from dict. of Nat. Biog.

3. "Honoured with Pastoral Sonnets, elegies and amorous delights."





graduating at Avignon in 1600 and being incorporated M. D. at Oxford in 1602.<sup>1</sup> Wood says "afterwards settling in London he practised it (medicine) became much frequented for his success in it, especially by the Roman Catholics (of which number he was by many suspected to be one) and was as much cried up to his last for physic as he was in his younger days for his poetical fancy."<sup>2</sup> Heywood, in his "Troia Brittania,"<sup>3</sup> mentions him in a list of the chief physicians of the day, and he is also mentioned in a satirical poem on London doctors, published in 1620.

As to his having been a Roman Catholic, it seems highly probable that he embraced that form of religion at least in his later years. We know that his second wife was the widow of Solomon Aldred, at one time a Catholic agent of Walsingham in Rome.<sup>4</sup> This lady was involved in Catholic intrigues as early as 1586, and Lodge seems to have aided her in forwarding Catholic interests at a later period when she was his wife.<sup>5</sup>

Besides the external proof of Lodge's Catholic sympathies

1. Athen. Oxon. vol. II.

2. V. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II.

3. V. Heywood "Troia Brittania" p.

4. V. Dict. Nat. Biog.

5. V. Gosse: 17th Cent. Studies, p. 37. "Letter from domestic state papers quoted for first time reveals something of intrigues in which Lodge and his Catholic wife were unquestionably engaged."



Mr. Gosse adduces internal evidence from several of his works, which makes it appear altogether likely that even as early as 1591 Lodge had strong leanings towards the Catholic party.<sup>1</sup> The establishment of this point becomes interesting, as will be seen later, in the light of some of the plays attributed to Lodge.

In the preceding account of Lodge as an author and as a man, so far as that career affected his authorship, I have purposely omitted giving a chronological and detailed account of his known works because that has already been so excellently done by both Gosse<sup>2</sup> and Carl.<sup>3</sup> It is sufficient for the present study to notice that the period of his greatest literary activity lies, roughly speaking, between 1585 and 1595. Before that time his efforts were called forth by such occasions as the Gosson controversy, and after 1596 his work consisted principally in translations and commentaries.

During this decade Lodge produced romances, such as "Rosalunde," "Robin the Devil," "A Margarite of America" and "The Life and Death of Willbiam Longbeard"; poetry, as "Glaucus and Scylla," "Phyllis," contributions to the "Phoenix nest," &c., &c.; and, as we have reason to believe, probably also plays other than those (also coming within

1. V. Gosse: 17th Cent. Studies, m. refs. to "Robin the Devil." "Truth's Complaint." "Dedication to Devil Conjured." "Prosopopeia."

2. V. Gosse: Hunterian Soc. Pub.

3. V. Carl: Anglia X.





this period) on the title page of which his name appears.

Already Lully, followed by Peele though not directly imitated by him, had been exercising his fancy in court plays, while Greene, until his death in 1592, continued to produce romances and comedies. Marlowe flashed into prominence early in this decade, and Shakespeare was beginning to make the lesser dramatists feel the futility of competition with his master mind.

It is interesting to note also that this decade lies between that of the pastoral (1580-90) and that of the sonnet sequence (1590-1600), and as Lodge was indisputably an imitative genius, we shall expect to find and do find him successively influenced by each of these literary modes.

Although Sidney died in 1586 his work continued to be imitated long after his death, and his influence, with that of Spenser, was strongly felt throughout this period.

In such an atmosphere Lodge flourished. Well read in the classics his mind was further broadened and his sympathies extended by much travel. Besides his voyages with Clark and Cavendish, it is altogether probable that he visited the Continent, including Italy, at an early date. At all events, he was familiar with French as early as 1589, and with Italian certainly as early as 1593, probably much earlier. Of his later sojourn on the continent in the last years of the century, and again in 1616, we have more certain knowledge, but these journeys were made after the most creative period of his literary activity was at an end.

Surrounded in his childhood by a literary atmosphere, meet-





ing at Oxford men of literary ability, and subsequently in London belonging to a coterie of literary friends, the intellectual gifts of Lodge, by no means slight naturally, were continually surrounded by influences conducive to productivity.

It has been said that his was an imitative genius, but this term is too belittling, for Lodge seemed to dignify and give a distinctive sweetness to everything he touched. He was quick to perceive the passing taste of the time, and readily adopted the fashion of the hour, but the power of adapting is of a higher order than that of slavish imitation, and Lodge always brought something of his own to beautify and give artistic finish to his models: particularly is this true of his so-called imitations of French and Italian poems.<sup>1</sup> With the example of Lyly and Peele before him and surrounded by other such contemporaries in the art of play making as Greene, Kyd and Marlowe, it is not surprising that Lodge's genius strove also to find expression in the drama.<sup>2</sup> But different temperaments seek different mediums of expression, and Lodge did not follow the courtly school of Lyly and Peele.

Belonging by birth to the upper middle classes of society, he seems to have combined a certain dignified independence of character—a sense of solid worth—with a spirit buoyant and restless. He was not the man to pen adroit flatteries or to think out graceful and intricate inventions pleasing to Elizabeth's

1. V. Bullen: Lyrics from Romances for instances of this.

2. N. It is possible also that he may at one time have been driven to write plays through poverty, as was Drayton.



insatiable vanity. He could not have possessed the tactful patience so necessary in a courtier, and moreover, his Catholic sympathies must have been a strong argument against his seeking popularity at the court of Elizabeth.

If he considered himself above mere conventionalities on the one hand, his self-respect was too great to allow of his being attracted into a life of careless dissoluteness, such as was led by his friend, Robert Greene. The latter, impetuous and self-willed by nature, did not grow up under the restraining influences which, as we have seen, surrounded the more sober Lodge: and the lack of sufficient moral poise, together with the absence of the more conventional of social environments, resulted in brilliant talents miserably misused, and a career, which might have been honorable and distinguished, cut short and degraded by pitiable weakness.

Of these two men, however, Greene, unquestionably, possessed a lighter wit and a more wieldable fancy, and perhaps gained something in originality just because of his utter disregard of the opinion of the world.

Greene and Lodge seem to have been, for a time at least, close friends, and to have mutually admired each other's talents; but Lodge had other friends who, less brilliant perhaps in intellect, were far more respectable than the unfortunate Greene. The poets Drayton and Daniel were apparently intimate friends of Lodge,<sup>1</sup> and, as Mr. Gosse says, these were men of the best class.

1. V. *Fig for Momus*. Eclogues.





gentlemen who held themselves aloof from the vulgar straits of the wits, and it is significant that they, and no longer the rough sort of professional pamphleteers, should appear as Lodge's friends and associates.<sup>1</sup>

Samuel and Robert Carey, sons of the Earl of Hunsdon, (to whom "Rosalynde" was dedicated) were early friends of Lodge at the University, and in his later years his friends were certainly people of weight and distinction.

Thomas Lodge by birth, education and inclination was always a gentleman, and it is probably largely due to this fact that he did not become a professional actor or sign his name to plays of which he has since been thought to have been the author.

1. V. Gosse: 17th Cent. Studies.



II.

Having thus endeavored to establish Lodge's position in life and his relations to the times and to other dramatists, I shall proceed to enumerate the plays with which his name has been at any time in any degree and by any authority connected:—<sup>1a</sup>

1. The Wounds of Civil War, or Marius and Sylla.
2. A Looking Glasse for London and England.
3. Laws of Nature.
4. Lady Alimony.
5. Luminaria.
6. James IV.
7. George a Greene.
8. Solinus.
9. The Contention between Liberality and Frugality.
10. The First Part of King Henry the Sixth.
11. The First Part of the Contention.
12. The True Tragedy of Richard III.
13. The True Chronicle History of King Leir.
14. The Troublesome Raigne of King John.
15. The Taming of a Shrew.
16. A Harpe for London: or, The Siege of Antwerpe.

1a. For titles in full, additions, &c., see the separate consideration of each play below.





17. A Warning for Fair Women.

18. Fair Em

19. Mucedorus.

For convenience of consideration these plays may be divided into three groups:—

1. Those which on external evidence may be excluded as not belonging to Lodge.

2. Doubtful.

3. Indubitably by him.

#### Group I.

In the first group belong:—

1. Lady Alimony.<sup>1a</sup> This play is attributed by Wood to Lodge and Greene, and the reference is repeated in Reed's *Biographia Dramatica*, 1812, attention being here called to the fact, however, that the play is printed anonymously. The reference from Wood is again repeated, this time without further comment in Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old Plays* (1860).

1a. *Lady Alimony: or, The Alimony Lady. An Excellent Pleasant New Comedy. Duly authorized, daily Acted, and frequently followed. Notulus amplexus sponsales: aera novellos nocte parent Socios, aut placere maxis. Lucret.* London. Printed by Tho. Vere and William Gilbertson, and are to be sold at the Angel without New-gate. and at the Bible in Gilt-Spur Street, 1659. 4°.

V. Dodsley Old Plays, Vol. XIV.



In Collier's Introduction to his reprint of this old play he says:— "The attribution jointly to Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene is one of those alike silly and capricious affiliations of our earlier biographers, which sometimes scarcely seem as if they were seriously intended. From a passage at p. 281, it is readily apparent that it was not in existence till after 1633."—The passage referred to is as follows:—

Tril. "I'm already noosed in your poetical springe, and shall henceforth wish for your sake, that all crop-eared histrio mastixes, who cannot endure a civil, witty comedy, but by his racked exposition renders it downright drollery, may be doomed to Ancyus, and skip there amongst satyrs for his rough and severe censure."

The allusion is plainly to William Prynne who in 1633 was placed in the pillory, had his ears cropped off, and was subsequently imprisoned for life for having published a pamphlet entitled "Histriomastix" (1633) which covertly censured the Queen and her Ladies of Honor for having taken part in the acting of a court play.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Luminalia: or The Festival of Light.<sup>3</sup>

This play is also ascribed by Winstanley and Wood to the joint.

1. V. Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. XIV.

2. V. Ward, II. 413.

Dict. Nat. Biog. Art. Prynne.

Smith, Homer Ph. D.: Pastoral Infl. in Eng. Drama, p. 84, note.

3. Luminalia: or the Festival of Light: Personated in a masque at Court by the Queen's Majesty and her ladies, on Shrove Tuesday Night, 1637. Ato 1637.





authorship of Lodge and Greene, and so referred to in Reed's *Biographic Dramatica*, and Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old Plays*. But as Reed points out the very obvious fact that it was an occasional piece, and was not written until two years after Lodge's death and thirty-nine years after the death of Greene, it need not detain us longer.

### 2. Laws of Nature.<sup>1</sup>

Ascribed by Winstanley and Wood to Lodge and Greene, and so mentioned in Reed and Halliwell, with a note however in Reed referring to its having been printed anonymously. This play has been identified however with the "Three Laws of Nature" (v. Title below) written by John Bale and printed 1558, about the time of the birth of Thomas Lodge.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Three Laws of Nature*: a comedy concerning three Laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ, corrupted by the Sodomites, Pharisees, and Papists, most wicked. Compiled by John Bale, anno 1538, and lately imprinted per Nicolaum Bambergensem. 4to Basle 1558; 4to London 1562.

2. V. Christmas, Rev. Henry, M. A. &c.: *Introd. to Select works of John Bale*, D. D. Edited for The Parker Society, p. IX.



Passing over for the present the consideration of the second group, I shall endeavor, after establishing on external evidence those plays indubitably by Lodge, to form, by a careful and detailed examination of this third group, in connection with other works of the author, some criteria for the investigation of the doubtful plays.

### Group III.

In this group belong only two plays, and in one of these Lodge was assisted by Robert Greene. They are:—

#### 1. The Wounds of Civil War.

The title page of this play forms the plainest and most convincing proof which could be asked for its genuineness. Its authenticity cannot be doubted.

Although not published until 1594, "The Wounds of Civil War" was probably written much earlier. The reasons for this supposition have been in part enumerated by Carl<sup>2</sup> and are as follows:—

1. The Wounds of Civill War. Lively set forth in the true Tragedies of Marius and Scilla. As it hath bene publiquely played in London, by the Right Honourable the Lord High Admirall his Servants. Written by Thomas Lodge, Gent. O vital! Misero longo, facili brevitas. London, Printed by John Danter, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Sunne in Pauls Church-Yarde. 1594. &c.

V. Dobson's Old Plays, vol. VIII.

2. V. Carl: *Anglia* X. s. 254-255.





1. It must have been written prior to 1591 because it is not once mentioned in Henslowe's Diary, although we know it to have been performed by the Admiral's men.

2. According to Collier<sup>1</sup> it must have been written before 1590, the year in which Marlowe's Edward II. appeared, because the blank verse of "The Wounds" is quite unaffected by the improvements introduced in this play of Marlowe's, and it is inconceivable that a man of Lodge's versatility should have been familiar with verse of this kind and not have reflected it in his own work.

3. According to Fleay Lodge used the motto "O vita &c." from the fourth of November, 1588, till the twenty-second of September, 1589, so that this play probably appeared before the latter date.<sup>2</sup>

4. Further it has been thought that Lodge ceased to write for the stage before 1589,<sup>3</sup> because in "Glaucus and Scylla" he says when speaking of Glaucus:-

"At last he left me where at first he found me

Willing to let the world and ladies knowe

Of Scilla's pride: and then by oath he bound me

To write no more of that whence shame doth grow,

Or tie my pen to Pennie-knaves delight.

But live with fame, and so for fame to wright."

1. V. Collier's Dodsley (1825) VIII. pp. 11 & 12, and History, Vol. III. pp. 213-220.

2. V. Fleay: Chron. Eng. Dr. Vol. II. p. 49.

3. V. Reardon James P. Shak. Soc. Trans. III. 145-6.



5. Again Fleay points out that civil war was dreaded in England in 1587 and that the chariot drawn by the four Moors in Sc.3. is an evident copy of Tamburlaine.<sup>1</sup>

6. Finally Collier thinks that the "Wounds" was written shortly after the appearance of Marlowe's "Tamburlaine" (the first part of which was acted before 1587) because (1) the greater part of the play is written in blank verse, which first became popular on the stage through Tamburlaine, and (2) because in the first scene of the third act of the "Wounds" Scilla is drawn

Note: But there is a doubt in my own mind as to whether this be autobiographical or not, or, being so, if Lodge would ever after consider it in the light of a solemn vow and hold it sacred. If he was really so much in earnest as Mr. Reardon seems to think, why did he in 1594 allow his previously written dramas to be published? Was not this at least breaking the spirit of his vow when he allowed productions which entailed shame upon their author to be disseminated under his own name? If he went thus far he might easily have gone a step further and written plays after this so called vow was made.

The parallel case of Shakespeare's contempt for the stage is to be noted in this connection as is also the spirit of "The Groat-worth of Wit." It was the thing in those days to speak slightingly of the stage even when making one's living by the writing of plays.

1. Fleay Chron. Eng. Dr. II.49.



across the stage in the Golden Chariot,<sup>1</sup>—a theatrical effect which is found in three scenes of the second part of "Tamburlaine."

To this Carl adds that since the second part of the "Tamburlaine" followed quickly upon the first and since Lodge's play must have appeared shortly after "Tamburlaine" in order that the point of this allusion or imitation might not fall flat, the date of the writing of the "Wounds" was probably the middle or end of 1587.

"The Wounds of Civil War" as the second part of its title suggests, is, so far as material is concerned, mainly founded upon Roman history as found in Plutarch's "Lives," and has been deemed of sufficient importance to call forth many and various criticisms.

Mr. Gosse declares that its "dull and tame scenes..... scarcely allow themselves to be read," and that its sole historic interest is in the fact that it was the precursor of Shakespeare's Roman tragedies; while, on the other hand, Collier<sup>2</sup> praises the performance almost extravagantly, mentioning in particular Lodge's power of characterization, declaring that the characters of Marius and Sulla "are drawn with great force, spirit and distinctness, a task the more difficult because they so strongly resembled each other in the great leading features of ambition and cruelty."

Again Churton Collins is of the opinion that the "characters, though by no means without individuality, are without interest, and the action, in spite of its studied variety, has all the effect

1. Cf. also Fleay above.

2. V. Collier, III. 215.





of the most tiresome monotony"<sup>1</sup>

Klein has an eye continually open to the defects of the drama,<sup>2</sup> while Morley notices the "poet's music" which it contains, and the fact that the author had ever a real audience in his mind for whose entertainment he was writing.<sup>3</sup>

Individual aesthetic criticism is certain to arrive at individual conclusions, and since authorities such as those above quoted disagree, I have tried to approach the subject by a method which endeavors to be more scientific, if it is less inspired.

As "The Wounds" is the only play known to belong to Lodge's unaided authorship, it has been submitted to an analysis as minute and detailed as possible. Comparisons have been made in regard to vocabulary, idiom, figures of speech, &c., with other of Lodge's known works and, since the results thus obtained are to form the basis upon which the doubtful plays will be investigated, I shall here give in a general way the data which I believe to have found, entering more into detail when these plays come up for separate consideration.<sup>4</sup>

1. V. Churton Collins: *Essays & Studies*, p. 178.

2. V. Klein: *Geschichte des Dramas*, XIII., s. 364-381.

3. V. Morley: *Eng. writers*, vol. X., pp. 66-69.

4. The references to the "Wounds of Civil War" are to the Dodsley edition; references to other works of Lodge are to the Hunterian Society edition.



### Vocabulary.

From the glossary which has been made it appears that in this play there is a slightly greater tendency towards the use of archaic and obsolescent words than is exhibited in contemporary plays of other authors. Such Spenserian words as "season," "dreariment," "doly" are found, and many other old words, such as "brest," "lozel," "ebb," "curtaw," "shatte," "wamboru," "hill," "erst," "sith," &c. are of frequent occurrence. The glossaries made of other words of Lodge show that this tendency to use an archaic vocabulary was quite characteristic of his style at all times, since similar words appear in "Rosalynde," "Robin the Devil," &c., &c.

### Mannerisms.

Lodge frequently employs an adjective or some other part of speech for a noun, as:—

"But, Sulla's sparkling eyes should dim with clear."

Act II. Sc. 1.

or

"Weep floods of Moan."

Act II. Sc. 1.

This device is also found in other authors of the time, but hardly to the same extent as in Lodge with whom it becomes a distinct mannerism, for not only does he resort to this means of rectifying the metre of his blank verse, but we meet with it continually in his prose also where the only possible explanation of it must be





in the author's fondness for the rather quaint effect produced.

Compare:—

—"to receive meede for his amisse"

Euph. Gold. Legacie, p.84.

"Hope they had none of life but in their valiant resist."

Robin the Devil, p. 28.

Idioms.

Other turns of expression are found in this play which are so distinctly Lodgian as to attract special notice; for instance, the phrase "to hem in" meaning "to enclose":<sup>1</sup>—

"And Marius lives to triumph o'er his foes,

That train their war-like troops amidst the plains

And are enclos'd and hem'd with shining arms."

Act IV. sc.1.

"Nor shall thy father's arms with kind embrace

Hem in thy shoulders, trembling now for fear."

Act IV. sc. 1.

"An urn of gold shall hem his ashes in."

Act V. p.127.

Compare with these passages the following:—

"And hem my temples in with laurell bowes"—

Euph. Gold. Legacie, p. 17.

1. This expression is not similarly used in Shak. or in Greene.



Another noteworthy phrase occurs in the fourth act:-

"Bright was the day, and on the spreading trees

The frolic citizens of forest sung."

Act IV. sc.1.

Collier calls attention to the repetition of the same idiom in

"Rosalunde."

"With sad and sorry cheer

About her wond'ring stood

The citizens of the wood."

In this play occur also the "cooling card" phrase and that of the "razors of Palermo," both noted by Mr. Fleay as being particularly characteristic of Lodge.

Certain epithets occur many times in this play. For instance, the word "honey" and its derivatives is applied over and over again to Anthony's powers of speech:-

(1) "Anthony, thou know'st thy honey words do pierce

And move the mind of Sulla to remorse:"

Act I.p.114.

(2) "Enough, my Anthony, for thy honey'd tongue

Washed in a syrup of sweet conserves" &c.

Act I.p.115.

(3) "Whose tongues are tipp'd with honey to deceive"

(Ref. to Anthony and others) Act II.p.120.

(4) "Then, honey-talking father, speak thy mind"

Act II.p.123.

1. Fleay: Chron. Eng. Dr. II.49.

I have not been able, however, to collate numerous enough instances of these phrases to make their appearance in doubtful plays of much value.



(5) "Let honey flowing terms of weary woe"

Act IV. p.169.

(6) "The bees, that sat upon the Grecian's lips

Distill'd their honey on his temper'd tongue"

Act IV. p.172.

The phrase "purple blood" is also of frequent occurrence in his plays: cf. pp. 113, 118, 179.

There are also certain single words of which Lodge seems particularly fond, such as:—"brook" and its derivatives. See "The Wounds" pp. 107, 108, 115, 129, 137, 145, 186, 188 and compare "Rosalynde" pp. 10, 13, 22, 23, 24, 31, 40, 49, 50, 57, 65; "Robin the Devil" p. 24, &c., &c.: "dally" and its derivatives,—see "Wounds" pp. 107, 130, 131, 134, 152, 158, 166: and compare "Rosalynde" pp. 9, 16, 31, 43; "Robin the Devil" pp. 1, 9, 10, 42, &c.; "Glaucus and Silla" p. 21; "Forbonius and Prisceria" p.43., &c., &c.: "frolic" used as an adjective and a verb,— see "The Wounds" pp. 125, 150, 173, and compare "Rosalynde" pp. 9, 22, 28, 46, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64. It would be tedious to enumerate other words, such as "erst," "coy," "dumps," "hazard," &c., &c., with their numerous parallel references.

#### Adjectives ending in "less."

Lodge also shows an unmistakable fondness in "The Wounds" for adjectives ending in "less": "trustless," "stayless," "matchless," "shameless," "trothless," "luckless," "bootless," "resourceless," "questionless" and many other like forms are constantly recurring.





Similar forms are frequently to be met with in "Rosalynde" and other of the prose works.

From the foregoing instances I deduce the general statement that Lodge, having once taken a fancy to a certain phrase, word or form, was particularly apt to make use of such phrase word or form over and over again.

### Figures of Speech.

The "Wounds of Civil War" is ornamented with every device in the way of figure conceivable to the Elizabethan mind, and examples of metaphor, simile, personification, antithesis, balance, alliteration, &c., &c. abound. Here again, when Lodge gets hold of a good and striking figure, he is apt to repeat it. Note the following passages:-

1. "Within my heart care, danger, sorrow dwell;

Hope and revenge sit hammering in my heart."

Act III. p.151.

2. "Whose heart doth hammer naught but mutinies."

Act V. p. 175.

And compare with these examples:

"hammering on revenge"

Rosalynde, p.12.

"hammered upon revenge"

Robin the Devil, p.26.

Instances need not be multiplied. . Another device for which Lodge displays in "The Wounds" a particular fondness and which



seems consistent also with his love of repetition is the heaping up of similar constructions, as:-

- (1) "Are you the men, the hopes, the stays of State?  
Are you the soldiers, prest for Asia?  
Are you the wondered legions of the world?"

Act I. p.118.

- (2) "And with my wonder hasteth on my woe,  
And with my woe I am assail'd with fear,  
And with my fear await with faintful breath  
The final period of my pains by Death."

Act IV. p.168.

- (3) (In reverse order)

"Thy colour'd wings steeped in purple blood,  
Thy blinding breath distain'd in purple blood,  
Thy royal robes washed in my purple blood,  
Shall witness to thy world thy thirst of blood."

Act V. p.179.

For other instances of this figure, see Act II., p.124; Act V., pp. 179, 181, 182 and 184.

Structural conceits are also found with some frequency, as:-

- (1) "Had I ten thousand tongues to talk the care,  
So many eyes to weep their woful miss,  
So many pens to write these many wrongs,  
My tongue your thoughts, my eyes your tears, should move,  
My pen your pains by reason should approve."

Act III. p.134.





(2) "Go, then, as fortunate as Greek to Troy:

As glorious as Alcides in thy fight;

As valiant as Achilles in thy might;

Go, glorious, valiant, happy, fortunate,

As all those Greeks and him of Roman state!"

Act III. p.159.

An attempt is occasionally made at a play upon words:-

"..... curtail your tale"

Act II. p. 121.

"Now Rome must stoop, for Marius and his friends

Have left their arms and trust unto their heels"

Act II. p.119.

Weighted thus with figures of speech, Lodge's diction is in this play dignified and solemn, and were it not for the truly poetic lines and passages which occur from time to time, the style would seem stiff and monotonous. As it is, in trying to be impressive, Lodge is often tedious.

### Versification.

The matter of versification has already been alluded to above in connection with the discussion of the probable date of writing of "The Wounds," and it has been noted that the blank verse, of which the play, with the exception of a few scenes, is composed, is of the early type and evidently modelled upon Marlowe's "Tamburlaine." A few especial characteristics, however, may be noted:-



(a) In the first place Collier<sup>1</sup> draws attention to the extreme monotony of the verse, more marked, he says, than that of Peele or Greene. This monotony of the verse results mainly from:-

1. Its prevailingly decasyllabic character,
2. Its prevailingly end stopped character,
3. Its weighted endings (i.e. the gravitation of important and emphatic words to the ends of the lines).
4. The comparative uniformity of caesural pauses.

To be noted also as characteristic of the blank verse of Lodge are the following points:-

- (b) The large proportion of monosyllabic endings.
- (c) The frequency with which rhyming couplets occur.
- (d) The use of triplets (which, as Collier remarks, is a "circumstance of rare occurrence in other dramatic poets preceding Shakespeare."<sup>2</sup>)

(e) The different devices in verse which are introduced such as the echo sonnet,<sup>3</sup> double rhymes (for which Lodge is particularly noted in his lyrics) and stanzas.<sup>4</sup>

- (f) The extreme smoothness of versification.

1. V. Collier: *Annals of Stage* III. 216-217.

2. V. Collier: *Annals of Stage* III. 217.

3. Cf. Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* I.1.

Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*, I.1.

V. also Shirbey's "Love Tricks" Ed. Dyce, IV.4. note.

4. Lodge was nothing if not a metrist, and his fondness for experimenting in this sort is very evident in this play.



### Dramatic Characteristics.

(a) In this drama the epic and the lyric parts are not united with art sufficient to conceal the joining. It is evident that Lodge was influenced in some degree by Senecan models. At times, however, there is a studied excitement in the action—different factions chase each other over the stage or men at bay fall upon their swords after having uttered the appropriate sentiments—but on the whole there is a great tendency towards the use of long, declamatory speeches, which, though often very beautiful in themselves, retard and make languid the dramatic action.

(b) The plot is lacking in centralization, and the play consists of a succession of non-cumulative episodes, all, it is true, illustrating the evil effects of civil war, but not leading on from step to step to some one crowning catastrophe.

(c) As to the character painting in this play, Collier's judgment seems just when he says, "Lodge is second to Kyd in vigour and boldness of conception, but as a drawer of character (so essential a part of dramatic poetry) he unquestionably has the advantage. . . . . the characters of Old Marius and his younger rival are drawn with great force, spirit and distinctness, a task the more difficult because they so strongly resembled each other in the great leading features of ambition and cruelty."<sup>1</sup>

Anthony with his "honey'd" eloquence is also well and distinctly drawn, and the two women, Cornelia and Fulvia, although playing a very brief part, are striking and impressive.

Aside from the half dozen leading personages, however, the

1. V. Collier: *Annals of Stage* III. pp. 214-15.





minor characters are quite indistinguishable, and in the principal personages there is no appreciable attempt at development of character. They are in the end what they were in the beginning.

(a) Lodge is not distinguished for his humour, and the lighter scenes which are introduced to relieve this tragedy are dismal failures so far as any real fun is concerned. In one of these scenes a Gaul, who bears the Spanish name of Pedro, speaks broken French and swears by "Jesu Maria."<sup>1</sup> In another a drunken clown discusses in flat and lifeless doggerel, and in a third two countrymen indulge in coarse dialogue utterly devoid of wit.

#### Individual characteristics.

(a) A subtle air of didacticism seems to pervade this play, but it is not prominent enough to become a defect, or to strike one unpleasantly. It is one of the surviving influences of the earlier morality.

(b) Omens and superstitions are to be noticed, i.e., the eagles which fly about Marius' head before his death(V.173) the genius which warns Sylla of his approaching death(V.194) &c.

(c) As to theme this play is interesting historically in connection with Shakespeare's Roman plays, for as Churton Collins says:—"It is perhaps the first English drama inspired by Plutarch and the first attempt to romanticize in the technical sense of the

1. These anachronisms are common to the age however.



tern, Roman history."<sup>1</sup>

The next play which claims our consideration is the joint production of Lodge and Greene, "The Looking Glass for London and England."<sup>2</sup>

Published in the same year as the "Wounds" this play was probably written in 1590, certainly not later, since the subject of the play is alluded to in Greene's "Mourning Garment," which is entered on the Stationer's Register November, 1590. Grosart, on the strength of Lodge's supposed vow to write no more plays (see above) says that it must have been written before the summer of 1589. However, the date does not concern us very closely in this instance, and we can pass on at once to the task of trying to distinguish the parts of the play for which Lodge was responsible.

Mr. Fleau seems to have found this an easy matter and says.....

1. V. Churton Collins: Essays and Studies, p.178.

2. A Looking Glasse for London and England, made by Thomas Lodge Gentleman, and Robert Greene, In Artibus Magister, London. Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by William Barley, at his shop in Gracious Streete, 1594. V. Grosart's Greene, Vol. XIV. Four 4 tos are mentioned by Grosart, 1594, 1598, 1602, 1617. Henslowe notes four representations of this play between the eighth of March and the seventh of June, 1591. V. ("The Diary of Philip Henslowe" Ed. Collier, pp: 23, 25, & 28.

Grosart remarks, however, that it is not on the first entry marked "ne." (=new), nor are the successive performances close to one another as would have been the case had it been a "new play."



"Greene, sc. 1-5, 8b, 12. Lodge wrote the rest——"<sup>1</sup> But he gives no grounds for his assignation. Grosart says, "Fleay claims the most and best of the Looking-glass for Lodge—one of the various preposterous claims for him—and one can simply ask for proof. Internal evidence would rather give the main portions to Greene."<sup>2</sup> But the internal evidence is lacking in this case also.

Collier says:—"There was no such marked difference between the styles of Greene and Lodge as to enable us to decide which part of the play was written by the one, and which by the other."<sup>3</sup> In this latter statement there is much truth in respect to some characteristics of style, especially as to versification, since both of these authors were close imitators of Marlowe, but in certain other characteristics the line of demarkation between Lodge and Greene is exceedingly distinct.

In the writing of comedy scenes, for instance, Greene, as we know him, is undoubtedly the superior of Lodge as he appears in the comedy scenes of *Marius* and *Sylla*..

It seems hardly fair, perhaps, to judge Lodge's style in this sort of writing by these few scenes which are thrown in merely to relieve a tragedy, and to compare these scenes with the wealth of comedy writing which has come down to us in Greene's

1. Fleay: Chron. Eng. Dr. Vol. II. p. 54.

2. Grosart's Ed. Greene, Vol. I., p. XXV.

3. Collier: Annals of Stage, III. 218.





name, but when we take these scenes from "Marius and Sulla" in conjunction with Lodge's prose writings and consider them also in the light of our knowledge of the man himself, they may be looked upon, I think, as a fair sample of what might consistently be expected, and as sufficiently characteristic.

Differing then from Mr. Fleay, I should attribute all the strictly comedy scenes in the Looking-glass to Greene,<sup>1</sup> and in in doing this it must be confessed that the first and most powerful reason for this assignation was that of style in general: but I believe that a minute analysis will bear me out in this judgment.

1. All the rollicking fun and horse play for which Greene is distinguished is evidenced in these scenes. Note in particular the scene (attributed by Fleay to Lodge) where the clown beats

1. The fact that this play is not regularly divided into acts and scenes makes description difficult.

2. The only scene about which I feel any doubt is the one in which the Second Ruffian kills the First Ruffian. Here there is a certain similarity of phrase and treatment to Lodge's scene of the clown servant of Anthony in the "Wounds." Compare:—

Clown. "O Sir, a quart is a quart in any man's purse, and drink is drink, and can my master live without his drink, I pray you?"

"Wounds," Act IV. p. 166.

with

Adam. "Spill no drink, spill no drink, the ale is good: I'll tell you what, Ale is Ale, and so I'll commend me to you with hearty commendations.....

Adam. May, but heare ye, take me with ye, for the Ale is Ale.....  
.....I'll follow thee as long as the ale lasts" &c.—



<sup>1</sup>  
the Devil; also the exceedingly amusing "Searchers scene" towards the end of the play.

2. The vocabulary of these comedy scenes is that of Greene rather than of Lodge.<sup>2</sup> Note "cstry paddots" (l. 1421) and cf. Greene XI. 275; "tribb-lyll" (l. 1242) and cf. Greene XIII. 231; "bombasted" (verb) (l. 2136) and cf. Greene "bombasted", XI. 95, 250.

3. The little Latin phrases of which Greene was so fond are scattered through nearly all these scenes. Note, for instance, the following extracts:-

".....it was a nose Antem glorificam, so set with rubies that after his death it should have been nailed up in Copper Smiths Fell for a monument: "-(Vol. XIV. p. 16, Grosart's Ed.)

and

".....a diuell, quoth he, I'll use Spiritus Sanctus nor Monimus patrus no more to him; I warrant you; I'll do more good upon him with my cudgell:" &c. (P. 83).

and

".....for I have a buttry and a pantry, and a kitchen about me; for prooffe Ecce signum" (P. 106)

and

Adam: "Alasse, sir, this is nothing but a medicuum non nocet ut medicum parat;" (P. 108)

1. Cf. "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" Greene Ed. Grosart. Vol. XIII. pp. 92-100.

2. A conclusion which has been arrived at by a careful comparison of Lodge's vocabulary with the glossarial lists of Greene made by Mr. Grosart. V. Greene. Ed. Grosart. vol. IV.



The next scenes to be considered are the real life scenes in which Thrasybulus, Alcon, the usurers and lawyers are concerned. On first reading these scenes, of which there are four, I was inclined to attribute them to Lodge, for they seemed to me to be but a dramatized form of the "Alarm against Usurers." However, upon a closer examination, I am inclined to think that both Lodge and Greene were concerned in them, as follows:-

The first two probably by Greene:

The third, with the exception of the part of Alcon, by Lodge:

The fourth by Greene.

The first two scenes, which are in prose, treat of the same circumstances in the same manner, and there is no doubt that they are by the same hand. My reasons for thinking that hand to be Greene's are:-

1. The vocabulary which, although rather commonplace, contains one or two words found elsewhere in Greene but not, so far as I have been able to discover, in Lodge's works. Note, for instance, the phrase "ravening panthar" (p.22). Greene seems to have a particular affection for this animal and mentions it over and over again in his works.<sup>1</sup>

The phrase "Mocado cape" occurs on page 34, compare Greene, XII.226.<sup>2</sup>

Again, the phrase, "I have yet a fetch" (p.40) is paralleled in vol. II.45, 63, 108; III.16; X.18; &c., &c.

1. Cf. Grosart's Gloss. Lists where some eighteen parallel passages are noted.

2. Grosart's Ed. here as always.





2. The general characteristics of style are those of Greene and not of Lodge; the extreme colloquialism and the consecutiveness of the dialogue is to be observed in this connection.

In the third scene, however, there is a decided change in style. All except the part of Alcon is in blank verse, and the blank verse exhibits all the peculiarities noted as Lodgian,—weighted endings, rhyming couplets, double endings, &c., &c.

The vocabulary here has the dignity of Lodge in its tone, and is similar also in detail. A number of adjectives ending in "less" are to be observed, together with other words of which Lodge makes frequent use elsewhere, as:—

"Old dotard pack" (p. 57) with which may be compared "packe hence" (Glaucus and Sylla, p. 17): "be packing" (Euph. Gold. Iodocia, v. 12), &c.: "ruthful," "wene," "weale," "haulesse," &c., &c.

The figures are like Lodge.

Note: "Dare you enforce the furrowes of revenge

Within the browes of royall Radaeon?"

(p. 57)

"Slaves, fetch out tortures worse than Titius Plagues,  
And teare their tooings from their blasphemous heads."

(p. 58)

The prose speeches of Alcon, however, which supply the comedy element in this scene, are much more like Greene than Lodge.

One of the speeches is even marked with a characteristic Latin phrase, ".....have I taught you Ar' metry, as addilieri



multiplicarum &c." Another contains the phrase "to be flat with" which is paralleled in Greene II.11.II.79.IV.228. And the style of all of them is unmistakably that of Greene.

The fourth scene which is very short (pp.83-85) I assign to Greene principally on account of its general style, its raciness and clever repartee. One of the speeches of Alcon is again trade marked by the Latin phrase "ecce signum."

In the third place it has seemed to me that the part of Oseas, who takes the place of a chorus in this play, is probably by Lodge throughout. To Oseas are given eleven speeches, and as the import of all these speeches is the same and since there is in all great similarity of expression, they are plainly by one hand. That that hand is Lodge's is particularly evident in the last long speech of Oseas(pp.83-87).

Note the following passage:-

"Lo, I have said, when I have said the truth,  
 When will is law, when folly guideth youth,  
 When shew of zeale is pranked in robes of zeale,  
 When ministers pottle the pride of common-weale,  
 When law is made a laborinth of strife,  
 When honour yields him friend to wicked life,  
 When Princes heare by others ears their follie;  
 When usury is most accounted holie;  
 If these shall hap, as would to God they might not,  
 The plague is neere: I speake, although I write not."

That this is by Lodge is plainly shown (1) by the characteristic style



its smooth and even flow. Its rhyming couplets, repeated endings, and its two instances of double rhyme.

(2) By the construction, so like passages already noticed in "The Wounds of Civil War." Compare with this extract the passages noted above in the analysis of the "Wounds," viz:-  
Act I., 117; Act II., 124; Act IV., 168; Act V., 179, 182, 184, &c.

(3) By the use of metaphor.

Compare for instance:-

"When law is made the laborinth of strife"  
with

"Now wand'rest 'midst the labyrinth of woes."

"Wounds", Act III. 146.

(4) By various minor peculiarities of vocabulary which when taken in conjunction with other matters seem to strengthen the hypothesis. In this speech occur, for instance, the words "thrall" (Cf. Euph. Gold. Legate 59. Forb. & Friar. 56 and 62) and "hap" (cf. "Wounds" Act II. 125, 127. Truth's Comp. 85 &c.)<sup>1</sup>

Such characteristics as have been instanced are evident to a greater or less degree in all the eleven speeches above mentioned, the first three of these speeches, however, not being of so distinct a character as the following ones and leaving one somewhat in doubt as to whether they may not possibly be by Greene.<sup>2</sup>

As for the rest of the play, which for the most part is con-

1. Neither of these words is in Greene's vocabulary.

2. Fleay in his designation places the scenes in which these three speeches occur to Greene in toto.





carried with Bassi and his train, it is not at all easy to distinguish with any degree of certainty the different parts of Lodge and Greene. There are two scenes, however, in which ships and sailing are described,<sup>1</sup> and these I give without any hesitancy to Lodge, not merely on account of his known acquaintance with the sea, but also because various characteristics of his style are here plainly exhibited.

(1) An archaic and Lodgian vocabulary; note the phrases "swinke of glee," "silly cates," "amaze" and "cleare" used as nouns,<sup>2</sup> "bereft," "doleful," "haplesse," &c., &c.

(2) Rich imagery throughout, and poetry of language. In illustration of this, the following lines may be quoted:—

"But lo an hoast of blacke and sable cloudes  
 Can to eclipse Lucinas silver face;  
 And, with a hurling noyse from foorth the South  
 A gust of winde did reare the billowes up.

.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

For loe the waves increase then more and more,

1. Pp. 52-54 and 67-70.

2. Cf. "The Wounds of Civil War," Act III., 118; and Euph. Gold. Lects., 28 and 35.



Mounting with hideous roarinss from the depth:  
 Our Barke is battered by encountering stormes,  
 And wel ny stemd by breaking of the ylcouds.—  
 The steers-man pale, and carefull, holds his helme,  
 Wherein the trust of life and safetie laie;  
 Till all at once (a mortall tale to tell)  
 Our sailes were split by Bisa's bitter blast,  
 Our rudder broke, and we bereft of hope!"

(P. 68-69)

The whole stule and spirit is that of Lodge.

Another scene which seems to me plainly by Lodge is that  
 in which Alvada, the King of Cicillia and Rasni appear. (Pp. 73-79).  
 The versification is his as must be acknowledged if one reads the  
 following passage and compares it with the undoubted verse of Lodge:—

K. of Cil. Madam, I hope you mean not for to mock me.

Al. No, King, faire King, my meaning is to yoke thee.

Heare me but sing of love, then by my sighs,

My teares, my glauncing lookes, my changed cheare,

Thou shalt perceive how I do hold thee deare.

.....

.....

Song.

Beattie alas, where wast thou borne,

Thus to hold thyself in scorne?

When as Beattie kist to wooe thee,

Thou by Beattie dost undo mee!



Heigho, despise me not.

I and thou, in sooth are one,  
Fairerest thou, I fairer none;  
Wanton thou, and wilt thou wanton,  
Yield a cruel heart to pant on?  
Do me right and do me reason,  
Crueltie is cursed treason:

Heigho, I love, heigho, I love!

Heigho; and yet he eies me not.

(Pp. 74-75.)

The characteristics so often mentioned need not be again pointed out in detail in the above extract of blank verse and in the beautiful little lyric. There are, however, other marks of Lodge in this scene, as, for instance, the figure of repetition, noticed before as characteristic of his style.

"I love my Rasni for my dignitie

I love Cilibician kind for his sweete eye;

I love my Rasni since he rules the world,

.....  
.....  
.....

Thus should mine armes be spred about thy necke

Thus would I .....

Thus would I .....

.....

Thine eyes, the motors to command my world,





Thy hands.....my world

Thy smiles .....my world

Thy frowns .....my world."

(Pp. 75-76).

The reference to omens might also be noticed and compared with somewhat similar references in "The Wounds of Civil War."

"The ghosts of deade men howling walke about  
Crying Vae, Vae, wo to this Cittie, woe!"

(P. 78)

Compare "The Wounds," Act V., 193, &c.

Again it is interesting to compare the scene<sup>1</sup> in which Remilia gets her companion, Aluida, to woo her,—in order that she may practice how she should bear herself towards her real lover, Rasmi,—with a similar scene in "Rosalunde." The smoothness and prettiness of the verse and imagery all resemble Lodge here, and one especial little peculiarity in vocabulary is to be observed.

"How am I pleas'd to hear thy prittle prate."

(P. 29)

"Prittle prattle" occurs in "Rosalunde" (P. 30) and does not occur<sup>2</sup> anywhere in Greene, according to Mr. Grosart's lists.

In this scene, however, as in the other remaining few upon

1. V. pp. 26-30.

2. Not much importance can be attached to this similarity of course, and I bring it forward merely as corroboratory evidence.



which I have not touched, there does not seem to me to be sufficient data to warrant an attempt at making an exact division of the different parts written by the different authors. It seems to me that the collaboration in this play was very close, and it is indeed impossible to say with any degree of certainty what parts belong to Lodge and what to Greene. It is just in this fusing of the two individualities, however, that a great part of the merit of the production lies: it is this which gives unity to the whole and makes of it a play which, although somewhat odd in conception and treatment, is well centralized about one idea.

As has been pointed out by Miss Pauline G. Wiggins<sup>1</sup> in her excellent monograph on the Middleton-Bowley plays, playwrights accustomed to collaboration assert that they are often themselves unable to state, when a play is complete, how much has been done by one and how much by the other.

"As they talk over the plan, the plot grows insensibly, situations develop and characters become fixed, and the man who is strong in plots is helped out by the other who can, perhaps, manage the details better than he."

Other plays in which Lodge has been said to have assisted Greene are:—

1. James the Fourth.<sup>2</sup>

1. Pauline G. Wiggins: An Inquiry into the authorship of the Middleton-Bowley Plays. 1902.

2. The Scottish Historie of James the fourth, slain at Flodden. (1562.)



Of this play Mr. Fleay says: <sup>1</sup> "The character Ateukin is called Gnatho in II. 2 a; III., 1, 2 (part); IV., 1. This shows a second hand, which is confirmed by the satirical character of V., 4, a scene entirely independent of the rest of the play, and evidently by the principal author of "The Looking Glass". In 1. 1 b Gnatho has been altered into Ateukin, but a dissyllable is required by the metre throughout the scene. In V. 2, we find to them Ateukin and Gnatho, which is quite incompatible with unity of authorship. I assign the scenes named to Lodge"

It does not seem to me that Mr. Fleay has here proved his point as to the significance of the confusion of the names Ateukin and Gnatho. Gnatho is the name of the parasite in the Eunuchus of Terence, and is used here, as Mr. Grosart has already pointed out, merely as an epithet of character! <sup>2</sup> As proof of this, note the following passages:-

(1). "The fox Ateukin, cursed Parasite."

(L. 2319)

(2). "Displace these flattering Gnathoes, drive them hence."

(L. 1147)

Entermixed with a pleasant Comedie, presented by Oboram King of Fageries: As it hath bene sundrie times publikely plaide. Written by Robert Greene, Maister of Arte. came forth printed. London Printed by Thomas Creede. 1598. 4to.  
V. Grosart's Greene, Vol. XIII.

1. V. Fleay. Chron. Eng. Dr. I. 265.

2. V. Grosart on this. Greene. vol. XIII. p. 252, note.





(2). Ser.(aside) "This is the thing for which I sued so long,  
 "This is the lease which I by Gnatho means,  
 Sought to possess by patent from the King."

(L. 1131)

Ateukin and Gnatho, then, are in this play synonymous names and are used interchangeably for one character. As a final proof of this identity I shall quote two passages in which the two names are in close juxtaposition.

(1) King of S.".....

.....

Yond comes the messenger of weale or woe.

Enter Gnato.

Ateukin, what newes?

Ateukin. The adamant, O King, will not be filds, &c."

(L. 1131-1134)

(2) King of S."Nought shall he want: write thou, and I will sign:

And, gentle Gnatho, if my Ida wester,

Thou shalt have what thou wilt: Ile give thee straight

A Barony, an Earldome for reward.

Ateukin. Frolicke young King, the Lasse shall be your owne.

(L. 1213-1222)

As to the last sentence of the extract from Fleay given above, i.e., "In v. 2 we find 'to them Ateukin and Gnatho,' which is quite incompatible with unity of authorship," it seems to me that again the criticism has been too hasty, for on reading the scene

1. This passage has already been noted by Mr. Grosart in this connection.



we find that "Jacques," who is not mentioned in the title directions, has entered with Atewkin; and Mr. Prescott's assumption "to then Atewkin and (his) Gnato (=Jacques)" seems a reasonable explanation and one in accordance with the satire on parasites.

Moreover, an examination of the "Atewkin and Gnato" passages, in the light of the tests above mentioned, does not yield any evidence to warrant their assignation to Lodge. This is true in particular of act III., 1, which on the face of it cannot be anything but Greene's, since it is one of the scenes in which the intangible Skipper takes part.

Finally, as to the fourth scene of the fifth act, of which Fleay says that it is "entirely independent of the rest of the play and evidently by the principal author of "The Looking Glass." It is true that there are in this scene certain faint resemblances to Lodge, but these resemblances are decidedly not marked enough to warrant us in attributing the scene to him, and, in fact, I find no reason for differing from Ward<sup>1</sup> when he mentions this play (which bears on its title page the name of Robert Greene alone) among the four of which Greene was the independent author.

## 2. George a Greene.<sup>2</sup>

This play has been thought by most critics to belong to Greene,

1. V. Ward: Art. on Greene, Ency. Brit.

2. A Pleasant conceyted comedie of George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield.



the external evidence consisting in the fact that upon an old copy of the play a note has been found in the handwriting of the time to the effect that "Ed. Juby saith it was made by Ro. Greene."<sup>1</sup> Fleay, however, does not accept this note as conclusive, and, although allowing part of the play to Greene, argues for two hands because as he says, "In sc. 13 'all the merry shoemakers' dwell 'at the town of merry Bradford,' sc. it is a replica of sc. 13 'at the town of merry Wakefield.' Again, just before the Jenkin bit in sc. 13 the King will send for George: at the end of it he will go to him. Sc. 13 (except this inserted bit) 3, 5, 9, I assign to Greene. This part of the play is independent of and has different characters from the rest, except at the denouement. The other part is, I think, Peele's.--"<sup>2</sup>

Later when speaking of Lodge Mr. Fleay says: "He also, in my opinion, in conjunction with Greene, wrote 'The Pinner of Wakefield'....."<sup>3</sup>

As it was sundry times acted by the Servants of the right Honourable the Earle of Suffex.

Aut nunc aut nunquam.

Imprinted at London by Simon Stafford, for Cuthbert Burby. And are to be sold at his shop neere the Royall Exchange. 1599.

V. Greene. Grosart. Vol. XIV.

Dyce: Date of writing evidently p. 1588. M. reference to Tamburlaine p. 122. Fensholt notices performances 1592. 28 Dec. George-a-Greene. 1593/ 4.8 Jan. The Pinner.

- 1. V. Collier III. 165.
- 2. V. Fleay, Chron. Eng. Br. I., 264.
- 3. V. Fleay, Chron. Eng. Br. II., 168.





There seems to be some discrepancy between these two statements: no mention is made of Lodge in the earlier account, nor is any reference made to Peele in this later mention of the play. Reasons are lacking in both instances.

As to the double authorship, but little weight can be attached to the confusion of the two towns of "Wakefield" and "Bradford." The supposition of two hands based upon this slight and natural confusion is not, moreover, supported by the comparison of the style of the two scenes in question. A misprint is the simplest thing in the world, as is evidenced in fact in this very passage of Fleay's where "George" occurs instead of "Grime."

Again in ruling out these Jenkin scenes, Fleay denies to Greene the authorship of scenes which are instinct with the qualities of his style. Further, although it is true that in scenes 3, 5, 9, characters take part who do not enter elsewhere except in the denouement, yet these scenes are quite indispensable to the main plot, and no such appreciable difference in their style is apparent as would warrant the assumption of an individual authorship.<sup>1</sup> However, granting that there may be two or any number of hands in this play, I fail to find a trace of Lodge in any part of the production. There are here singularly few metaphors or other figures of speech, and the language is particularly straightforward, direct, and free from archaisms. The blank verse exhibits much more freedom than does that of Lodge;

1. In dividing the play as he does, Fleay, gives to Greene the least interesting and driest parts.



irregularities occur frequently at the ends of the lines, and the effect of the whole is more vivacious. Rhyming couplets occur very infrequently. Lodge's peculiar idioms and repetitions are all conspicuous in their absence, and in fact I find nothing in minor details or in general outlines to support Mr. Fleay's opinion, as expressed in his second notice of this play.

### 3. Selinus.<sup>1</sup>

Again Mr. Fleay is alone responsible for the assigning of parts of this play to Lodge. He says: "The greater part of the play seems to me to be by Lodge. Greene certainly wrote sc. 24; probably sc. 9, 11, and other scenes. I have not looked far into the question." Mr. Grosart claims the play for Greene on what appear, for the most part, to be good and reasonable grounds. His arguments briefly being as follows:—

#### 1. External Evidence.

1. The First part of the Tragicall raigne of Selinus, sometime Emperour of the Turkes, and grandfather to him that now raigeth. Wherein is shounne how hee most unnaturally raised warres against his owne father Balazet, and prevailing therein, in the end caused him to be poysoned. Also with the murthering of his two brethren, Corcut, and Acomat.

As it was played by the Queenes Maiesties Players. London Printed by Thomas Creede, dwelling in Thames Streete at the signe of the Kathren wheele, neare the olde Swanne. 1594.

V. Greene (Grosart) vol. XIV.

Date. C. 1588. Soon after Tamberlaine (Fleay II. 315)

M. ref. to Tamberlaine P. 259.

2. These arguments are set forth at length with specific references in Greene's Introduction to his Edition of Greene's works vol. III—LXXXIII.



Two quotations given in "England's Parnassus" and there cited S. Greene are to be found in this play.

## 2. Internal Evidence.

(a) A parallel passage in Selinus (P. 270. Grosart's Ed.) to Greene's song of "sweet content" in the "Farewell to Follie."

(b) A reference at the close of "Alphonsus" to a forthcoming play which Grosart thinks probably means "Selinus," supporting his theory by the

(c) similarity of setting in both plays;

(d) similarity of character-names in both plays;

(e) similarity in treatment of subject;

(f) autobiographical touches inevitable to Greene;

(g) similarity of versification of "Selinus" and "Alphonsus" (although in regard to this point Grosart seems to feel some slight misgiving);

(h) semi-parodying of Marlowe as in Alphonsus, Orlando Furioso, and Friar Bacon;

(i) similarity of stage directions with those of Greene's known plays;

(j) similarities in words, epithets, constructions, false quantities, &c. with Greene's known works.

But although Grosart's arguments<sup>1</sup> are in the main convincing, and there can be little doubt that Greene had a large share in the

1. Note that some of the arguments given above would apply equally well to Lodge, in particular (d), (h) and (i).





authorship of this play, yet it seems to me that material which Prescott has brought forward excludes the possibility of Greene's having had a coadjutor.

The question with which I am concerned here, as always, is, of course, simply in how far Lodge's claim to a share in the writing of this play may be justified; and in the investigation of *Selinus*, it seemed to me that certain characteristics of Lodge were there to be found.

1. The verse of the first eleven scenes shows certain marked peculiarities which are not found to any appreciable extent in the remainder of the play. Not only is this portion of the play for the most part in rhyme, but the lines are in stanzas, and in these stanzas great variety of arrangement is exhibited. At first the form

a b a b a b c c

is tried, and occurs some eight times. Then the sonnet form is adopted as a basis, and stanzas with various combinations of rhyme are employed, as:-

a b a b b c c d e d f f g g

a b a b b c c d e d e f f

a b a b b c c d e d e f

a a b c b c d d e f e g g h h

a b a b b a a c d e f f

a b a b c c c d e d e f f

a b a b b c c d e d e f f

a a a b c d e f e f f



( a b a b b c d e d e e f f f f f f )

a b b c b c e d d e f f f f

a b a b c d c e f e f f f f

a b a b b c c d d e e f f

( a b a b b c c d e d f f f f f f f f )

a b a b a c d d e f e f f f

a b a b a c a d e f e f f f

a a b c b c d d e e f f f f f

It will be noticed that none of the above forms are exactly alike, and when one remembers Lodge's fondness for experimenting in rhyme one cannot but be struck with the above examples. It is to be noticed also that more than one triplet occurs, and that there are several instances of double rhyme, both these peculiarities being characteristic of Lodge. However, on the other hand it is in one of these sonnets that one of the quotations mentioned in "England's Parnassus," as written by R. Greene, is to be found.

2. Again the figure of repetition, already noticed as a Lodgian characteristic, occurs, not in this first portion of the play, but several times in the second portion.

"..... for thou didst die in field

And so preventedst this sad spectacle:

Full spectacle of sad dreeriment,

Full spectacle of dismall death."

(E. 241)



Again

"Tis true, tis true, witness these headless arms,  
 Witness these empty lodges of mine eyes,  
 Witness the gods that from the highest heaven  
 Beheld the tyrant with remorseless heart,  
 Pull out mine eyes, and cut off my weak hands.  
 Witness that sun whose golden coloured beames  
 Your eyes do see, but mine can nere behold;  
 Witness the earth, that sucked up my blood,  
 Streaming in rivers from my tronked armes,  
 Witness the present that he sends to thee,  
 Open my bosom, there you shall it see."

(P. 248-9)

or

"But Aga Baizet faine would speake to thee,  
 But sodaine sorrow eateth up my words.  
 Baizet Aga, faine would weep for thee,  
 But cruel sorrow drieth up my teares.  
 Baizet Aga, faine would die for thee,  
 But Arbat hath weakened my noore ofee harte.  
 How can he speak those tongue sorrow hath tide?  
 How can he mourne, that cannot shead a tear?  
 How shall he live, that full of Misery  
 Calleth for death, which will not let him die?"

(P. 249)





67.

"Had I ten thousand tongues to talk the same,  
 So many eyes to read their woful miss  
 So many pens to write these many wrongs  
 My tongue your thoughts, my eyes your teares, should move,  
 My pen your pains by reason should approve."

"The Wounds of Civil War," Act III. 134.

In the third place "Selimus" is stiff with figures of speech, but, although the style in this regard corresponds in general to that of Lodge, there are no particularly striking similarities in phrase, metaphor or simile with any of Lodge's known works.

Again the long monologues are far more characteristic of Lodge than of Greene; and yet with all these general characteristics of Lodge, I am quite unable to point to any particular scenes as being unmistakably of his authorship. I am inclined to think, however, that, while the general conception of the plot is Greene's, that possibly he may have been assisted by Lodge in the writing down of the play.

#### 4. Liberalitie and Froddishitie.<sup>1</sup>

This peculiar old play has been attributed to Lodge in conjunction with Greene by Winstanley and Wood. This attribution has been repeated in Rees's Biographical Dramatica 1812, and noticed

1. A Pleasant Comedie, showing the contention betweene Liberalitie and Froddishitie. As it was playd before her Maiestie. London



later in the Dictionary of National Biography. Fleay, however, oddly enough, leaves it out of his list of Lodge's plays; and, since one so zealous in his endeavours to increase the bulk of a favorite author's dramatic productions should have seen fit to omit a possible play, little remains to be said in favour of its retention.

I imagine that the older bibliographers may have attributed this late Morality to Lodge and Greene on account of its faint resemblance in spirit to "The Looking Glass for London and England," but there is really little in common between the two plays, and if there were, nothing would be proved.

The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality seems to be a revival, possibly a working over of an old play of the preceding reign,<sup>1</sup> and is interesting chiefly as showing that even at such a late date as 1600 the taste for moralities was not extinct, since this play was evidently performed before Her Majesty in that year.<sup>2</sup>

There is not a trace of Lodge about this production. It is true that the vocabulary is somewhat archaic, but it is not an artistic or Lodgian archaism, and the rough and rude versification ought alone to be a sufficient refutation of the assertion that Lodge had any share in the play.

Printed by Simon Stafford for George Vincent, and are to be sold at the signe of the "Hand in hand in Wood-Street over against S. Michaels Church. 1602. 4°. V. Deacon's Old Plays. Vol. VIII.

1. V. Fleay. Chron. Eng. Dr. II. 323.

2. V. Collier. Hist. Eng. Dr. Poets II. 213.



Note, for instance, the following passage:—

"(To Fortune) lady most bright, renowned goddess fair,

Unto thy stately throne here do repair

Two suitors of two several qualities,

And qualities, indeed, that be mere contrarities.

That one is called wasteful Prodigality:

This one cleped Covetous Tenacity.

Both at once unto your royal majesty

Most humbly make their suits for money.

For. Let's hear what they can say.

Prod. Divine goddess, behold, with all humility

For money I appeal unto thy deity:

Which in high honour of thy majesty,

I mean to spend abroad most plentifully.

Ten. Sweet mistress, grant to poor Tenacity

The keeping of this golden darling money:

Chill vow to thee, so long as life shall dure,

Under strong lock and key chill keep him vast and sure.

Van. Nay, pleaseth then your pleasant fantasy

To hear them plead in musical harmony?"

(Pp. 347-348)

And this is decidedly not the worst or the roughest extract which could have been chosen.

Furthermore, the play is comparatively bare of metaphor and simile, and those which do appear are quite commonplace and not at all after the manner of Lodge.





But it would be tedious and unnecessary to enumerate more dissimilarities.

The attribution of this play to Lodge must long ago have been recognized as unwarranted, since none of the later critics have noticed it.



The next group which I have to consider comprises those plays which later were retouched or wholly remodelled by Shakespeare; and in dealing with these plays, about which much has been conjectured and much has been written, I have confined myself, as elsewhere, to a consideration of the possible share which Lodge may have had in their composition, leaving wholly out of the question the connection which they bear to Shakespeare's plays, their artistic merits and the share which other contemporary writers may have had in their authorship.

Chronologically, the first of these plays which claims our attention is The First Part of King Henry VI.<sup>1</sup>

Malone, in his celebrated dissertation on the three parts of King Henry VI., connects Lodge's name with this play when he says of it:-

"With respect to the diction and the allusions, which I shall consider under the same head, it is very observable that in the First Part of King Henry Vi. there are more allusions to mythology, to classical authors, and to ancient and modern history, than.

1. V. Dyce's Shakespeare, Vol. V. &c., &c.

A play called Henry the Sixth was produced at the Rose Theatre, March 3, 1591-2, and is supposed by Malone to be the First Part of Shakespeare's historical dramas on the incidents of that reign. V. Hazlitt's Manual.



I believe, can be found in any one piece of our author's, (i.e. Shakespeare) written on an English story; and that these allusions are introduced very much in the same manner as they are introduced in the plays of Greene, Peele, Lodge, and other dramatists who preceded Shakespeare: that is, they do not naturally arise out of the subject, but seem to be inserted merely to show the writer's learning."<sup>1</sup>—

Again:

"The tragedies of Marius and Sulla, by T. Lodge, 1594, A Looking Glass for London and England, by T. Lodge and R. Greene, 1598, Solyman and Perseda, written before 1592, Selimus, Emperour of the Turks, 1594, The Spanish Tragedy, 1592, and Titus Andronicus, will all furnish examples of a similar versification: a versification so exactly corresponding with that of the First Part of King Henry VI., and The Whole Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c. as it originally appeared, that I have no doubt these plays were the production of some one or other of the authors of the pieces above quoted or enumerated"<sup>2</sup>—

Malone then on the ground, first of similarity in allusions, second of similarity in versification, attributes this play to "some one or other" of the authors indicated, but he does so, of course, in the most general terms, without attempting to distinguish the minor differences in style of these contemporaries, and also

1. V. Malone: Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, Vol. 13, p. 558.

2. V. Malone, vol. 13, p. 564.





without taking into account apparently the possibility of collaboration.

Mr. Fleay, on the other hand, in a most elaborate analysis of this play,<sup>1</sup> portions out to each his share and assigns to Lodge Act V. 2-5, saying, "His versification is unmistakable, and the phrase 'cooling card' occurs in Marius and Sulla, the older plays of John and Hair (both lines in part by Lodge). It has not been traced in Greene, Peele, or Marlowe."

In this latter point, at least, Mr. Fleay is mistaken as regards Greene, for in Mr. Grosart's Glossarial Index are found no less than six references to the word.

As to versification, I could find no marked difference between the portions assigned to Lodge and other parts of his play, excepting, of course, the "Talbot" scenes. Compare, for instance, some passages taken at random, the first being from the part of the play assigned to Lodge.

(1)

K. Hen. "Your wondrous rare description, noble earl,

Of beauteous Margaret hath astonished me:

Her virtues, graced with external gifts

Do breed love's settled passions in my heart:

And like as rigour of tempestuous winds

Provokes the mightiest hulk against the tide,

So am I driven, by breath of her renown,

Either to suffer shipwreck or arrive

Where I may have fruition of her love.

1. Fleay: Life of Shak. pp. 255-257.



Suf. Such, my good lord,—this superficial tale  
 Is but a preface of her worthy praise;  
 The chief perfections of that lovely dame—  
 Had I sufficient skill to utter them—  
 Would make a volume of enticing lines,  
 Able to ravish any dull conceit."

Act V.5.

(2)

"Is this the scourge of France?  
 Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad,  
 That with his name the mothers still their babes?  
 I see report is fabulous and false:  
 I thought I should have seen some Hercules,  
 A second Hector for his grim aspect  
 And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs.  
 Alas, this is a child, a silly dwarf!  
 It cannot be this weak and writhled shrimp  
 Should strike such terror to his enemies."

Act II.3.

or (2)

"And peace, no war, befall thy parting soul!  
 In prison hast thou spent a pilgrimage,  
 And like a hermit overpass'd thy days.—  
 Well, I will lock his counsel in my breast;  
 And what I do imagine let that rest.—  
 Keepers, convey him hence; and I myself  
 Will see his burial better than his life."

Act II.5.



In main points of versification all these passages are similar, and if the test were to depend alone upon the quality of the blank verse it would be equally just to consider any one of these passages as belonging to Lodge, or all of them as belonging to one author.

However, in a careful consideration of the versification of all the scenes attributed by Fleay to Lodge, I should be inclined not to admit the blank verse of these scenes as his on account of the almost total absence of rhyming couplets. We have seen in the "Wounds of Civil War" and "The Looking Glass" that rhyming couplets were of frequent occurrence, and we know from the same plays and by reference to his lyrical poetry that Lodge was a most consummate metrist. It really seemed more easy for him to write in rhyme than not to do so, and in his plays we find him continually indulging, not only in couplets and triplets, but even resorting to stanzaic forms.

The date of this play is not so much later that we can attribute the cessation from this practice wholly to the effect of the example of other playwrights.

As for the rest of the play, although in a general way the allusions and figures of speech are Lodgian, in no passages could I find similarities close enough, or supplementary evidence strong enough, to convince me of the undoubted presence of the hand of Lodge.





## 2. The First Part of the Contention.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Fleay portions out this play between Marlowe, Peele, Kyd (possibly), Lodge and Greene, giving to Lodge IV., 2-V., 3, and thus attributing to him the part of the play which deals with Cade's insurrection and the battle of St. Alban's. Again Mr. Fleay gives no reasons for his assigning of this portion of this play to Lodge other than the rather misty ones contained in the following paragraph:- "The notion that Greene wrote it(i.e., this part of the play) arises from want of discriminating Greene's work from Lodge's in "The Looking-Glass for London," all the better part of which is by Lodge. I fear that those who underrate the powers of this elegant and(in his own line)powerful writer estimate him by his earliest dramatic effort, Marius and Sylla. He should be read in his Glaucus and Rosalynde. And his evident wish to avoid being known as a dramatic writer should be taken into account. That he did continue to write plays for many years I have no doubt, but the evidence is too extensive to be given here."<sup>2</sup>

1. The First Part of the Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the Good Duke Humphrey: And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolk, and the tragically end of the proud Cardinall of Winchester, with the Notable Rebellion of Jacke Cade: And the Duke of Yorkes first claime unto the Crowne. London. Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Milington, and are to be sold at his shop under Saint Peters Church in Cornwall. 1594. 4°.

V. Hazlitt's Shaks. Lib. Pt. II., vol. I.  
Shak. Soc. Ed. J. O. Halliwell. 1843.

2. V. Fleay: Life of Shak. p. 271.



These scenes of the "First Part of the Contention" certainly have nothing in common with the scenes of "Marius and Sylla", in which the lower classes are concerned, and one can easily imagine that Mr. Fleay might be anxious lest the author whom he champions so continually should be judged by that play alone: but, although finding in both "Glaucus" and "Rosalynde" much dramatic feeling and great finish in style, yet I fail to find in either any ghost of connection with the Jack Cade scenes of "the Contention," or the least shadow of reason for supposing these scenes to be by Lodge.

Neither in the minor points of idiom, vocabulary and figure of speech does this portion of the play seem to me to resemble any of Lodge's known works, but the whole plan and tone of these lively scenes is quite apart from the style exhibited by Lodge elsewhere, which, although pleasing and admirable in its own way, is distinguished by a certain elegant languor.

In these Jack Cade scenes event hurries upon event, all is movement and bustle, and the dialogue is distinguished by quick and clever repartee, which is far from being a Lodgian characteristic.

Note the following passages in this connection:-

(1). Cade. "I am able to endure much.

George. Thats true, I know he can endure anything,

For I have seen him whipt two market daies together.

Cade. I fear neither sword nor fire.

Will. He need not fear the sword, for his coate is of proof.

Dicke. But mee thinkes he should feare the fire, being so often



burnt in the hand, for stealing of sheepe."

(2).

Cade. "And one of them was stolne away by a beggar woman,  
And that was my father, and I am his sonne,  
Deny it and you can.

Nicke. May looke you, I know it was true,  
For his father built a chimney in my father's house,  
And the bricke is alive at this day to testifie."

Again, the dramatic characteristics are not those of Lodge.

These scenes depict<sup>ing</sup> the common people, the excited mob, are written by one who, if he did not sympathize with the unthinking populace, at least knew it and its moods thoroughly.

Lodge seldom writes of the lower classes and when he does he is unsuccessful in giving a true picture. In such scenes he always gives us the impression of a gentleman trying to write of his inferiors, whom he may indeed condescend to describe, but whom he does not profess to understand.

But it is hardly necessary to say more. Neither in spirit nor in form have these scenes anything in common with Lodge.

### 3. The True Tragedy of Richard the Third.<sup>1</sup>

1. The True Tragedie of Richard the Third: wherein is shewne the death of Edward the fourth, with the smothering of the two young Princes in the Tower: with a lamentable ende of Shores wife, an example for all wicked women. And lastly the coniunction and ioyning of the two noble Houses, Lancaster and Yorke. As it was playd by the Queenes Maiesties Players. London Printed by Thomas





Of this play Mr. Fleay attributes to Lodge the Induction, sc. 2 "with its looking-glass bit"; sc. 6 (with its cooling card and ballad metre); sc. 7, which like 6 contradicts 8 as to the whereabouts of Earl Rivers; 9, 13 (with "Catesby" instead of "Casbie" of sc. 3); sc. 10 (which like 2 belongs to the Shore story); and scs. 14-20 (on the conjunction of the houses)<sup>1</sup> together with the Epilogue.

As for the second scene, Mr. Fleay surely cannot intend to found his supposition that this part of the play belongs to Lodge, simply upon the occurrence of the following passage:-

"Ah sweete Edward, farewell my gracious Lord and soveraigne,  
For now shall Shore's wife be a mirrour and looking-glasse,  
To all her enemies."

For, although Lodge and Greene did write the "Looking-glass for London," they were decidedly not the only ones who made use of this metaphor which was a commonplace of the age,<sup>2</sup> and yet Mr.

Creede, and are to be sold by William Barley, at his shop in Newgate Market, neare Christ Church doore. 1594. 4°.

V. Hazlitt's Shak. Lib. Pt. II., vol. I.

Date not later than 1591. because played at court. V. prayer at end. Since it is meant to be a continuation of the series 1 Henry VI. and the First Part of the Contention, however, it can hardly be much earlier than this date. See on this point Fleay vol. II. pp. 315-316. and also Churchill George B. : Rich. III. bis Shak.

1. V. Fleay. Chron. Eng. Dr. II. 315-17.

2. V. Hazlitt's Gen'l Index which gives some twenty seven references to works bearing titles in which the word looking glass occurs. (P. 464)



Fleay gives no other reason for his hypothesis. I would deny this scene to Lodge on the ground of the versification alone, which in its roughness is widely different from the smooth and measured flow always found in Lodge.<sup>1</sup>

Without here considering Mr. Fleay's conjectures seriatim, I would say that in this play there are but three passages which, in the light of the data gathered from known works of Lodge, seem to me to bear the least resemblance to his style; these are:-

(1) Part of scene 6. (pp. 72-75) from "Enter Buckingham and Gloster" to the change of metre on page 75. The following extract in particular is to be noted:-

Buc. My Lord, lay down a cooling card, this game is gone too far,  
You have him fast, now cut him off, for feare of civill war,  
Injurious Earle I hardly brooke, this portion thou hast given,  
Thus with my honor me to touch, but thy ruth shall begin"---

In this extract occur several so called Lodgian words, such as "cooling card," "brooke," "ruth," &c., the rhyming couplets are to be noted and the rather stilted stile, but these characteristics do not in my opinion constitute in themselves evidence enough to warrant the attribution of the extract to Lodge. Moreover, the above extract is the most Lodgian part of the whole passage, and if this is ruled out, the remainder, in which the versification is much inferior to that usually found in Lodge, certainly cannot

1. Note, too, that this play was probably written about the same time as "Marius and Sylla"; not, at all events, earlier, yet how much better is the versification of "Marius and Sylla" than that of this scene.



be admitted.

(2) So. 14. (pp. 109-112). In this passage the blank verse has all the characteristics of Lodge. Note in particular:-

"For in his tyrannie he slaughtered those  
That would not succour him in his attempts,  
Whose guiltlesse blood craves daily at God's hands,  
Revenge for outrage done to their harmlesse lives:  
.....  
.....  
I will so deale in governing the state,  
Which now lies like a savage shultred grove,  
Where brambles, briars, and thornes, over-grow those  
springs,  
Which if they might but spring to their effect  
And not be crost so by their contraries,  
Making them subject to these outrages,  
Would prove such members of the Common-weale,  
That England should in them be honoured,  
As much as ever was the Romane state,  
When it was governed by the Councels rule,  
And I will draw my sword brave country-man,  
And never leave to follow my resolve,  
Till I have mowed those brambles, briars and thornes  
That hinder those that long to do us good."--

A very short extract from the "Wounds" will show the similarity in versification.





"Recall'd from banishment by your decrees,  
 Install'd in this imperial seat to rule,  
 Old Marius thanks his friends and favorites,  
 From whom this final favour he requires,  
 That, seeing Sylla by his murderous blade  
 Brought fierce seditions first to head in Rome,  
 And forced laws to banish innocents,  
 I crave by course of reason and desert,  
 That he may be proclaimed, as erst was I,  
 A traitor and an enemy of Rome."—

"The Wounds" p. 157.

This similarity in form, however, is not enough to constitute a proof that the passage is of Lodge's authorship, and, although the dignified and rather stilted style of this scene is in general outline not unlike Lodge, yet when considered more minutely it does not yield a sufficient number of correspondences to justify its being assigned to him.

(3) The "revenge" passage in sc. 17 is similar to certain passages in Lodge in point of repetition.

"The Sunne by day shines hotly for revenge.  
 The moon by night eclipseth for revenge.  
 The stars are turned to comets for revenge  
 The planets change their courses for revenge.  
 The birds sing not but sorrow for revenge.  
 The silly lambes sits bleating for revenge.  
 The screeking Raven sits croking for revenge.  
 Whole heads of beasts comes bellowing for revenge.



And all, yea all the world I think,  
Cries for revenge, and nothing but revenge."

Sc.17 (P.117).

Compare the "Wounds":

"Thy coloured wings steeped in purple blood.  
Thy blinding wreath distain'd in purple blood.  
Thy royal robes wash'd in my purple blood  
Shall witness to the world thy thirst of blood."

P. 179.

And

"My father Marius lately dead in Rome;  
My foe with honour doth triumph in Rome.  
My friends are dead and banished from Rome."

Ibid. 179.

But, as Barron Field remarks,<sup>1</sup> this is one of the commonest artifices of rhetoric, and has been beautifully employed by Shakespeare himself:

"If you did know to whom I gave the ring,  
If you did know for whom I gave the ring,  
And would conceive for what I gave the ring,  
And how unwillingly I left the ring,  
When nought would be accepted but the ring,  
You would abate the strength of your displeasure."

Merchant of Venice, Act V.

This similarity alone then could not constitute a proof, and again

1. V. Barron Field's Introm. to the Shak. Soc. edition 1844.



there is lacking sufficient supplementary evidence.

In summing up I should say that, though it is within the range of possibility that Lodge may have had a slight share in the writing of this old play, yet that it is impossible to say with any certainty that he was concerned in it at all, much less to point with precision to certain passages as being of his undisputed authorship.

#### 4. King Leir.<sup>1</sup>

The old play of King Leir, although of course falling infinitely short of Shakespeare's wonderful tragedy, has something at least to distinguish it from some of the other old plays, which remain as monuments of the all-illuminating genius which, out of such material as these early productions afford, could bring forth the masterpieces which bear the name of Shakespeare.

In form King Leir is much superior to the First part of the Contention or the True Tragedy; the versification is smoother and more uniform, and the conception and presentation of the whole decidedly more unified.

It seems to me probable that there are not more than two hands in King Leir (if indeed it may not be by one author alone) while in the True Tragedy one feels continually the roughness of ill joined patchwork.

1. The True Chronicle History of King Leir, and his three daughters, Gonorill, Ragan and Cordella, As it hath been divers and sundry times lately acted. London, Printed by Simon Stafford for Iohn





This very superiority of kind fair inclines us to give more credence to the idea that Lodge may have had a share in its authorship. In the matter of versification particularly there are many passages which are much after his manner.

Compare, for instance, the following:-<sup>1</sup>

(a)

"My eldest sister lives in rounal state  
And wanteth nothing fitting her degree:  
Yet hath she such a cooling card withall,  
As that her hony savoureth much of gall,  
My father with her is quarter-master still,  
And many times restraynes her of her will:  
But if he were with me, & serv'd me so,  
I'd send him packing somewhere else to go,  
I'd entertayne him with such slender cost,  
That he should quickly wish to change his host."

Sc. II. p.334.

(b)

"O nere was heard so strange a misadventure,  
A thing so far beyond the reach of sence,

Wright and are to be sold at his shop at Christ Church doore, next  
Newgate-Market. 1605.4°.

V. Hazlitt's Shak. Lib. Pt. II. Vol. II.

Was published also 14th May, 1594. Fleay thinks date of writing  
probably 1588-89.

1. N. I. here quote somewhat at length since each passage contains  
new illustrations of Lodgean characteristics.



Since no mans reason in the cause can enter  
 What hath remov'd my father thus from hence?  
 O, I do feare some charme or invocation  
 Of wicked spirits, or infernall fiends,  
 Stir'd by Cordella, moves this innovation,  
 And brings my father timelesse to this end.  
 But might I know that the detested witch  
 Were certaint cause of this uncertaine ill.  
 Myself to Fraunce would go in some disguise,  
 And with these nailes scratch out her hateful eyes:  
 For since I am deprived of my father  
 I loath my life and wish my death the rather."

Sc. 20. p. 262.

(c)

"Can Henbane joyne in league with Methridate?  
 Or sugar grow in wormwoods bitter stalke?  
 It cannot be they are too opposite:  
 And so am I to any kindness here.  
 I have throwne wormwood on the sugred youth  
 And like to Henbane poysoned the Fount  
 Whence flowed the Methridate of a child's goodwill.  
 I, like an envious thorne, have prickt the heart,  
 And turn'd sweet grapes, to soure unrelisht sloes:  
 The ceaseless ire of my respectlesse brest,  
 Hath sour'd the sweet milk of dame Nature's paps:  
 My bitter words have gauld her hony thoughts,



And weeds of rancour choke the flower of grace.  
 Then what remainder is of any hope,  
 But all our fortunes will go quite aslope?  
 Per. Feare not, my lord, the perfit good indeed  
 Can never be corrupted by the bad:  
 A new fresh vessel still retagnes the taste  
 Of that which first is pour'd into the same:  
 And therefore though you name yourself the thorne,  
 The weed, the gall, the henbane, the wormwood,  
 Yet sheele continue in her former state,  
 The hony, milke, Grape, Sugar, Methridate."

(Pp. 367-368).

In each of these extracts certain characteristics of Lodge are illustrated. In (a) the versification is marked by its strictly decasyllabic character, its weighted endings, its rhyming couplets, its general smoothness and measured rhythm.

There also occur in this extract certain Lodgian phrases, such as:-

"Yet hath she such a cooling-card with all"  
 with which compare "Euph. Gold. Legacie" p. 13, "packe hence."  
 Glaucus and Sylba, p. 17; "Looking Glass," pp. 12.57.&c., &c.

In (b) the quatrains are to be noted, also the double rhymes, and again the smoothness and equality of the verse in general.

In (c) the structural conceit is worked out quite in the manner of Lodge. Cf.

"Go thou, as fortunate as Greek to Troy:





As glorious as Alcides in thy fight:  
 As valiant as Achilles in thy might  
 So, glorious, valiant, happy, fortunate,  
 As all those Greeks and him of Roman state."

Marius and Sulla, p.159.

The line

"The ceaselesse ire of my respectlesse brest,"

is also to be noted. Lodge in "Marius and Sulla" exhibits great fondness for this juxtaposition of adjectives ending in "less."

Compare:-

"Seeing our bootless war with matchless fate."

P.141.

"The stauless hold of matchless sovereignty."

P.113.

"Sits sighing hapless, joyless, and forlorn."

P.136.

"Leafless and sapless through decaying age."

P. 142.

&c., &c. Also:

"Find heartless beasts and each where liveless foes."

"Fig for Momus," p.18.

Although resemblances to Lodge in versification and vocabulary are undoubtedly present in this play, yet it would be unsafe to assign it in whole or in part to him without more evidence than is forthcoming. The comparative absence of classical allusions is to be noted as something far removed from Lodge's usual style.



The characterization also does not agree with that found in Lodge's known plays; for although in his novels he has the power of presenting to us many and well marked individualities, in his plays he seems to confine distinct presentation to two or three leading characters while the other personages move around in colourless and indistinguishable similarity.

The style of characterization usually employed in Romances with the abundant opportunities there afforded for leisurely description, was, of course, eminently suited to Lodge as we know him, for he was certainly a lover of sweetness long drawn out. The characters in a drama, however, must be defined with fewer, bolder and sharper outlines, and it is just in this respect that Lodge fails, and that the author of "King Leir," in my estimation, excels.

There is hardly a character in this play which does not stand out with a certain individual distinctness. Leir, Cordella, Ragan, Gonorill, Perillus and the Gallian King are all living and consistent personalities.<sup>1</sup>

1. Collier's estimate of this old play seems to me too severe (V. Annals of Stage III. 75-77). Perhaps the very fact that Shakespeare used it as material, and out of such material produced his stupendous masterpiece, prevents an adequate appreciation of the older "King Leir." But it is not fair to judge the older play with its wholly different conceptions, in the light of Shakespeare's awe-inspiring and inapproachable tragedy. It ought to be compared with other old plays of its own class, and with these as a standard the old "King Leir" is quite the equal of many, and is superior to some.



5. The Troublesome Raigne of King John.<sup>1</sup>

Malone attributes this old play to Greene or Peele, while Collier notices the difference in versification between the first and second part, saying that it is evident upon this ground that more than one hand was concerned in it. He does not venture an opinion on the authorship, however, and, as far as I know, Mr. Fleay is the only authority who has connected the name of Lodge with "The Troublesome Raigne of King John," and he, although he begins by saying that he does "not hesitate to confidently assert" that certain scenes are by Lodge, changes his mind before he reaches the end of a page, and thinks that two and perhaps three of these scenes may be by Marlowe.

These waverings of Mr. Fleay simply go to show how very difficult it is to separate, upon internal evidence alone, the work of these authors who are known to have collaborated so closely.

What first impresses one on reading this old play is the strong spirit of opposition shown throughout to the Catholic cause and Catholic rule. The prologue prepares us for this attitude when we read

1. The Troublesome Raigne of John King of England, with the discouerie of King Richard Cordelions Base Sonne (vulgarly named, The Bastard Fauconbridge): also the death of King John at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publickely acted by the Queens maiesties Players, in the honourable citie of London. Imprinted at London for Sampson Clarke, and are to be solde at his shop on the backe-side of the Royall Exchange. 1591. 4°. The Second Part of the troublesome Raigne of King John, containing the death of Arthur Plantaginet, the landing of Lewes, and the poy-





"Vouchsafe to welcome (with like courtesy)

A warlike Christian and your countryman.

For Christ's true faith indur'd he many a storm,

And set himself against the Man of Rome."

And this spirit is maintained until the very last lines of the second part, in which the moral and main plot of the whole play is thus summarized:-

"If England's Peeres and people joyne in one

Nor Pope, nor Fraunce, nor Spaine can do them wrong."

From its allusions to the popularity of "Tamburlaine":-

"You that with friendly grace of smoothed brow

Have entertained the Scythian Tamburlaine,"

Prologue.

and also from its references to Spain, it has been conjectured that this play was probably written about 1587 or 1588, when the great struggle against Spain and the cause for which Spain stood, was in progress.

This will account for the great warmth of feeling against the Catholics. This spirit, so insisted upon throughout the play, is in itself a strong argument against the presumption that Lodge was concerned in its authorship.

singing of King John at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publickely acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players, in the honourable Citie of London.

V. Hazlitt's Shak. Lib. Pt. II., vol. I.

The play was reprinted 1611 and 1632, and was again reprinted from this later edition by Nichols in his "Six Old Plays," 1779.



As has been pointed out above, there are many and cogent reasons for believing that Thomas Lodge belonged to the Catholic party, or at least had strong Catholic sympathies, and although 1591 is the earliest date at which these sympathies can be traced in his published writings, yet it is hardly probable that his views would undergo so complete a change in so short a time.

Leaving the question aside, however, and turning to a consideration of the results obtained from the analysis to which this play has been subjected in regard to vocabulary, versification, idiom, &c., but little is found to support the theory that Lodge was a collaborator in this play.

In regard to vocabulary it might, on first sight, be very reasonably argued that the large number of obsolescent words found in the whole play favored the assumption of Lodge being concerned, but taking into account the difference in length between the first and second parts of the play, it is found that the proportion of archaic words in the first part is greater than that in the second, the ratio being very nearly as two is to one.

However it is principally this second part with its proportionately few archaisms that Mr. Fleay thinks belongs to Lodge, the first scene being the only portion of Part I. which he ascribes to him, <sup>1</sup> at first confidently asserting it to be his, and then, twenty lines below, thinking that it may have been by Marlowe.

To ascribe the first part of this play to Lodge on account of

1. V. Fleay: Chron. of Eng. Dr. II.53.



its largely archaic vocabulary would, however, be inadmissible, since any evidence in regard to vocabulary would be quite outweighed by dissimilarity in form alone to any of Lodge's known plays.

Again Mr. Fleay draws attention to the Scripture allusions in "The Troublesome Raigne", saying that they are exactly like those in "The Looking-Glasse." The chief of these Scripture allusions are as follows:-

1. Mess. John(My Lord) with all his scattered troopes

Flying the fury of your conquering sword,  
No Pharoah erst within the bloody sea,  
So he and his environed with the tyde,  
On Lincolne washes all were overwhelmed."

Pp. 312-313.

2. Philip, some drink, oh for the frozen Alpes,  
To tumble on and coole this inward heate,  
That rageth as the furnace sevenfold hote,  
To burne the holy tree in Babylon. &c.

P. 315.

3. "But in the spirit I cry unto my God  
As did the Kingly prophet David cry,  
(Whose hands, as mine, with murder were attaint)  
I am not he shall build the Lord a house  
Or roote these Locusts from the face of earth:  
But if my dying heart deceive me not  
From out these boynes shall spring a Kingly branch  
Whose armes shall reach unto the gates of Rome,





And with his feet tread down the trumpets' pride  
That sits upon the chairs of Babylon."

P. 216.

Although "The Looking Glass", as is natural, abounds in Scripture allusions, I have failed to find in that play one reference to Pharoah or to David, and furthermore, the references to Scripture in "The Looking-Glass" are frequently made in the same breath with some classical allusion, not at all in the manner of those in "The Troublesome Raigne."

Compare, for instance, the following passages taken from "The Looking Glass" with the extracts from King John quoted above:

- (1) "Whose eye holds wanton Venus at a gaze,  
Rasni, the Regent of great Ninivie;  
For thou hast foyle proud Jeroboams force,  
And, like the blustering breath of AEolus  
That overturnes the pines of Libanon,  
Hast scattered fury and her upstart groomes  
Winning from Cades to Samaria."

Looking Glass, p. 10.

- (2) "See how he blots me out o' the booke of life:  
Oh burthen, more than AEtna that I beare,  
Cover me hilles, and shroude me from the Lord."

Looking-Glass, p. 98.

I think the most cursory reading of these extracts will convey the noticeable difference in style between the passages from "King John" and those from "The Looking Glass"; and in this



matter of classical allusion it must be added that the second part of the "Troublesome Raigne" is singularly free from references of the kind; which, of course, is an additional negative argument against the hypothesis of Lodge being concerned in the play.<sup>1</sup>

Proofs against Lodge's authorship, stronger, however, than any which are concerned merely with considerations of vocabulary and allusions, are to be found in the style, form and conception of his play,—the manner of the unfolding of the plot, the way in which scene follows scene with cumulative effect, the way in which the weak King's character is gradually developed until it ultimately causes his ruin, the spirited action—all these things, with the corroboratory evidence, of course, of dissimilarities in minor details, convince me that Lodge had no part whatever in this play.

1. Note:—

"And like to Juno in a sad eclipse  
So are thy thoughts and passions for this newes."  
P.293.

"Behold these scarres, the dole of bloodie Mars  
Are harbingers from Natures common foe,  
Cyting this trunk to Tellus prison house?"  
P.305.

These with one other passage in which allusions are made to Mars, Juno, &c., are the only three references to classical mythology noted in the second part of this play, and the first of these quotations is not in the portion of the play ascribed by Fleay to Lodge.



6. Taming of a Shrew.

The only authority which I can find for attributing this old play to Lodge is that of Mr. Fleay, who in a parenthetical note in his "Life and Work of Shakespeare"<sup>2</sup> says that it is "most likely" by Lodge. Later in his chronicle of the English Drama<sup>2</sup> he asserts much more positively that the play is by Kyd.

I should hardly be justified in taking up much space on account of these four parenthetical words of Mr. Fleay, which he himself had the good taste to contradict later. However, the play has been subjected to the same analysis as the other plays considered in this article with the following results, in brief:-

1. Vocabulary and diction not markedly Lodgian, although not infrequently words are found which are employed by him elsewhere.

2. Versification in general is somewhat similar to that of Lodge, but the rareness with which rhyming couplets occur argue against the probability of its being his.

3. The figures of speech and the numerous classical allusions are much in the manner of Lodge.

1. A pleasant Conceited Historie called The Taming of a Shrew. As it was sundry times acted by the Right honorable the Earle of Pembroke his servants. Printed at London by Peter Short and are to be sold by Cutbert Burbie at his Shop at the Royall Exchange. 1594. 4°.

V. Hazlitt's Shak's Lib. Pt. II., vol. II.

Later Eds. 1596, 1607, V. Hazlitt's "Handbook" p.467. and Hazlitt's "Coll. & Notes," 1875.

2. Life and Work of Shak., p. 23.

3. Chron. of Eng. Dr. II.34.





As an example of versification, figures of speech and classical allusion, the following passage might be quoted:—

"And should my love as earst Leander did,  
 Attempt to swim the boiling helispont  
 For heroes love: no towers of brass should hold  
 But I would follow thee through those raging flouds  
 With locks dishevered and my brest all bare  
 With bended knees upon Abidos shoare,  
 I would with smokie sighs and brinish teares,  
 Importune Neptune and the watery Gods  
 To send a guard of silver scaled Dolphyns  
 With sounding Tritons to be our convoy.

Taming of a Shrew, pp. 523-2.

The conception and general treatment, however, are not like anything found elsewhere in Lodge, and although in the few points above mentioned the play is not inconsistent with his known work, yet it would be absurd to attribute it to him on these grounds alone without some more positive proof.



Plays which remain.

1. A Larum for London.<sup>1</sup>

In attributing this play to Lodge Mr. Fleay alludes to the similarity of the title with that of "The Looking-Glass," and implies that, because it belongs to the same class of play, "didactic as to politics," that it is by Thomas Lodge. If this were an argument, it would apply equally well in favor of Greene, since he was the joint author of "The Looking-Glass." Mr. Simpson, in his Introduction<sup>2</sup> to this play, mentions the fact that upon the title page of an old copy in Collier's possession there appears written in an early hand this note:-

"Our famous Marloe had in this a hand,  
As from his fellows I do understand.  
The printed copy doth his muse much wrong;  
But nathless many lines are good and strong.  
Of Paris massacre such was the fate;  
A perfect copy came to hand too late."

Dyce, however, does not give any credence to this note, nor does anyone else, so far as I have been able to ascertain.

1. A Larum for London: or the Siege of Antwerpe. With the venturous Actes and valorous Deeds of the lame soldier. As it hath been played by the Right Honorable the Lord Charberlaine his Servants. London: Printed for William Ferbrand, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Alley, over against the Taverne doore, neere the Royall-Exchange, 1602.

V. The School of Shakespeare (Ed. R. Simpson) No. I.

2. V. Simpson: School of Shak. I. Introd. p.1.



Mr. Stenson himself advances a theory that the play was written by "Marston as the journeyman under the direction and with the help of Shakespeare as manager and controller," and certainly advances some very plausible arguments for his assumption, though not, in my opinion, fully justifying his claim.

That the play has been attributed to two men so widely separated in style as are Lodge and Marston, goes to prove how uncertain are the results of merely aesthetic and non-scientific criticism.

Leaving the question of Marston's supposed authorship, as aside from the main subject under consideration, I would say in the first place that the spirit of this play argues against the supposition that Lodge had anything to do with it; for although it is not so outspokenly anti-Catholic as is "The Troublesome Raigne of King John," yet the feeling is strong against the Spaniards, and Spanish cruelty is painted in the most lurid colors.

In that day the line between politics and religion was hard to distinguish, and since Spain was identified with the Roman Catholic cause, the spirit of the play in being anti-Spanish is also anti-Catholic. Note in this connection the following passage, referring to the supposed death of D'Alva:-

- "1. Citizen. That D'Alva was a bloody villain.
- 2. Citizen. He was worse than the Spanish Inquisition.
- 3. Citizen. Well, if ever man would have eaten up the cannibals it was he."

P. 44.

Although there has been some difference of opinion as regards





the date of the first appearance of this play, 1592 or 1593 is the earliest date conjectured by Mr. Simpson, and he seems much in doubt as to whether he should not assign it C. 1595, as does Mr. Fleay, or even bring it down to 1598 or 1599.<sup>1</sup>

However, as has been pointed out above, Lodge gave evidence of Roman Catholic sympathies at least as early as 1591, and by the later date was certainly under grave suspicion of complicity in Catholic plots, so that it is hardly probable that he would at any of these dates have written an anti-Catholic play.

Turning from the spirit of the play to the material consideration of vocabulary, versification, figures of speech, &c., the results of my investigation show that the vocabulary is too modern and too explosive for Lodge.

Mr. Simpson collects a few phrases which he says "savour of Marston's ruffianly style," such as:—"the world's corrupt enormities," "cubbling sowcuses"(p.37), "bouncing Bacchanalian centaurs," "frothy Rhenish fats," "bestial gormandize"(p.42). "Death shows wild frocces in the streets"(p.61); "this butter-box," "the tallow-cake," "the rammish fat," "this dunghill of thy carrion flesh,"(p.73). "Hence tumble," "like Leviathan, his clumsy limbs walk not, but tumble"(p.74); the streets lie "thwackt with carcasses"(p.75).

Lodge, the lover of melody, could never in his most excited moments have been guilty of such harsh phrases as these.

In the blank verse there is also a marked difference from Lodge's style, and although the presumably late date of writing

1. Note: Mr. Fleay also gives this latter date as probable in his Chron. Eng. Dr. 55.



may account for the not infrequent occurrence of run on lines, yet the quality of the verse in general is quite unlike that of Milton, and the slow and stately tread which distinguishes his style is here quite wanting. Note for instance the following typical extract:—

"Tell me, I say, you that have seen all this,  
And as devils, saints in the black calendar  
Of wretched 'st woe, may truly be set down  
As authors of these sad confusions—  
Do you not deem that state well worth the ills  
That this remissness brought upon the rest?  
Mar. They cannot but confess so much, Count Egmont.  
Ed. If this be granted, what's your glory, then?  
An armed man to kill a naked soul!" &c.

(*'Larum* p. 53)

or

Stump. "O Captain, Captain, where is Antwerp now?  
It is my native place, where should I then be free,  
If made a slave where freely I was born?  
There's not a town almost in Brabant now  
That gives a man the safety of a night.  
What should we then do living?  
Have you and I seen that that we have seen  
And come to this?  
If you reserve the courage you were wont  
Of a brave soldier and a gentleman



Let's do something yet worthy the talking of.

I have won a company of poor hurt soldiers,

Not able to wield weapons and to fight."

(Larum p. 71)

It seems to me that anyone at all familiar with the blank verse of Lodge could not for an instant dream of attributing these abrupt and spirited lines to him.

Again the metaphors and similes are far more violent than those usually found in Lodge.

Note, for instance, the following:—

"Welcome, fair sweet; mine arms shall be thy throne,

Where, seated once, mock Death, and laugh to scorn

The boisterous threats of blood-bespinkled war."

Larum, p.61.

"As from his eyes descends a flood of tears

So will you draw a river from his heart

Of his life's blood:"

Larum, p.62.

".....environ her with shot

Whilst we extinguish with a shower of blood

This late-enkindled fire:"

Larum, p.62.

"So in this dunghill of thy carrion flesh

Their ravenous swords might find a dirty feast."

Larum, p.73.





".....revulses the foe,  
That like a swarm of deadly stinging hornets,  
Have all this while lay hid within their nest,  
But now do fly abroad with dreadful noise."

Larum, 49.

Compare the above with a few of the strongest figures taken from  
"Marius and Sylla":--

"What shall a little biting blast of pain  
Blemish the blossoms of thy wonted pride?"

Marius and Sylla, p.194.

"Though I have known your thirsty throats have long'd  
To bathe themselves in my distilling blood."

Marius and Sylla, p.155.

"The baleful babes of angry Nemesis  
Disperse their furious fires upon my soul."

Marius and Sylla, p.149.

"Yet will I furrow forth with forced breath  
A speedy passage to my pensive speech."

Marius and Sylla, p.173.

One cannot help noticing how antiquated Lodge's elaborately  
worked out metaphors, with their almost inevitable alliteration,  
sound when brought into juxtaposition with the bold and rapid fig-  
ures of the "Larum for London."

It is needless to cite further instances of dissimilarity be-  
tween this play and Lodge's known works: suffice it to say that  
there is no particular base the results of an imaginative poem, and



cause the this play should be attributed to Lodge.

### 2. A Warning for Faire Women.

This play belongs to that class of the realistic drama which has been called domestic tragedy, and although not published until 1599 was probably written about 1590.

Richard Simpson draws attention to the similarity of didactic intent (evidenced by the correspondence in idea of the titles) between this play and that of the "Larum for London" and remarks further that this similarity "testifies to the didactic and educational intention which the Lord Chamberlain's company wished to be supposed to underlie their efforts to amuse the public."

However much truth there may be in all this regarding the spirit of these two plays, there are certain very appreciable differences between them in style and manner of treatment.

Both, it is true, are highly realistic, but the realism of the "Siege of Antwerp" is not quite so much the realism of detail as is that of the "Warning for faire women." In the latter play the photograph is life size, whereas in the former we get a bird's eye

A Warning for Faire Women. containing the most Tragically and Lamentable murder of Master George Sanders, of London, Marchant, nigh Shooter's Hill: consented unto by his owne wife, acted by M. Browne, Mistress Drewry and Trusty Roger, Agents therein: with their severall ends. As it hath beene lately diverse times acted by the right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his servantes.

Printed at London by Valentine Sims for William Aspley, 1599.

V. Simpson: School of Shak. Vol II.



clear. Nothing whatever is left to the imagination in the "Warning."  
The court scenes, even, are presented in the baldest realism of technicalities.

In nothing, however, is the contrast between these two plays greater than in the matter of figures of speech. As has been noted above the metaphors in the "Siege of Antwerp" are far from being Lodgeian in character, while those in the "Warning" (and they are not few) are, in general, quite like those employed by Lodge elsewhere, at times the resemblance being striking.

Note for instance:-

"Why this is well; I never could have found  
A fitter way to compass Browne's desire,  
Nor in her woman's breast kindled love's fire:  
For this will hammer so within her head,  
As for the new she'll wish the old were dead."

"Warning," p. 267.

and compare the extract with other of Lodge's metaphors in which the word "hammer" is involved.

"Hope and revenge sit hammering in my heart."

Marius and Sylla, 149.

"Whose heart doth hammer nought but mutinies."

Marius and Sylla, 175.

"hammering on revenge"

"Euph. Gold. Legacy, "p. 12.

"hammered upon revenge"

"Robin the Devil," p. 26.





Again:-

"The ugly screech-owl and the night Raven  
With flaccid wings, and hideous croaking notes  
Do beat the casements of this fatal house."

"Warfare," p.233.

Compare:

"The screech-owl chants her fatal-boding lays"

"Marius and Sylla," p.149.

"fatall scritchowls"

"Robin the Devil," p.41.

Other passages may be noticed in which the figures resemble Lodge's style:-

"Yonder she sits to light this obscure street,  
Like a bright diamond worn in some dark place:  
Or like the moon, in a black winter's night  
To comfort wandering travellers in their way."

"Warning," p.253.

".....My heart is not my own,  
But taken prisoner at this frolic feast,  
Entangled in a net of golden wire  
Which Love had slyly laid in her fair looks."

"Warning," p.243.

A mild play upon words is to be observed from time to time, as in other works of Lodge, e.g.

".....Let your good nature hide  
The blame of my bad nurture for this once."

"Warning," p.237.



"I trust our queen my mistress has obtained your will  
You'll sell me in a cost suit of your apparell."

"Warning," p.252.

Compare "Marius and Sylla," pp. 119, 121, &c.

In a realistic play of this kind an archaic vocabulary would be highly inappropriate. Here we have an account of an actual, almost contemporary murder and, as we would expect, the language spoken by the characters in the tragedy is that of the London of the time. Some words are to be noticed, however, which appear elsewhere not infrequently in the writings of Lodge. He is fond, for instance, of the word "frolic,"<sup>1</sup> used adjectively as it appears above; "drifts," meaning intention, as found on pp. 269 and 327;<sup>2</sup> "gastly," pp. 296 and 303;<sup>3</sup> "mazors," as

"Bring forth the banquet, and that lustful wine

Which in pale mazors, made of dead men's skulls,"

"Warning," p.268.

34.

".....and to take a Mazer of wine and to drinke to his Rosalynde."

"E. Gold. Lodge," p.64.

".....and filling out some wine in a mazer she spiced it a"

Ibid. 34.

"Garrison came in with a faire mazer full of Sidar,"

Ibid. 128

1. Cf. "Marius and Sylla," 173. "E. Gold. L." pp.63 & 64. "Marius," p.12.

2. Cf. "Marius and Sylla," p.107, &c.

3. Cf. "Blanche," p. 13. "Monus," p. 17, &c.



As Mr. Fleay has already noticed, the metre resembles that of Lodge, although to an extent it is somewhat more advanced in development as times. Note the following extract, however, which in general characteristics will be seen to be much after the manner of Lodge:—

"And how the dreadful hour of death is come,  
The dismal morning when the destinies  
Do sheer the laboring vital thread of life,  
Whenas the lambe left in the woods of Kent  
Unto this ravenous wolfe becomes a prey,  
Now of his death the general intent  
Thus Tragedie doth to your eyes present."

"Warning," p. 284.

The proportion of rhyming couplets found throughout this play is much the same as in "Marius and Sylla," and the triplet found on page 290

Roq. "Tut, faint not now; come, let us haste away.

Bro. Oh! I must feare, whatever thou dost say:

My shadow, if nought else, will me betray"—

is worthy of attention, since, as Collier has already noticed, this form is made use of but rarely by predecessors of Shakespeare other than Lodge.

In his notes to this play Mr. Simpson draws attention to the apostrophe of the author expressed in the Epilogue:—

"Perhaps it may seeme strange unto you all,  
That one hath yett reveng'de another's death





After the observation of such courses:

The reason is, that now of truth I sing,

And should I adde, or else diminish aught,

Manu of these spectators then could say,

I have committed error in my play.

Beware with this true and home-borne Tragedy,

Yielding so slender argument and scope

To build a matter of importance on,

And in such forme as, happily, you expected.

What now hath fail'd to-morrow you shall see

Perform'd by History or Comedy."

And from this he makes the inference that the play was written merely to satisfy "the popular craving for such things."

In this light it is quite conceivable that Lodge, who was a man tolerably alive to the opportunities of the passing taste, might have written this play. Certainly, in so far as reliance is to be placed upon internal evidence, it is altogether probable that the play is due to his authorship.

### 3. Faire Em.<sup>1</sup>

According to Ward<sup>2</sup> this play has been attributed to Lodge,

1. A Pleasant Comedie of Faire Em; The Miller's daughter of Manchester; with the love of William the conqueror. As it was sundry times publickely acted in the Honourable Citie of London by the right Honourable the Lord Strange his servants. London, Printed for John Wright, and are to be sold at his shop at the



but I have not been able to ascertain by whom or on what grounds. Mr. Fleay thinks that its author was Robert Wilson,<sup>1\*</sup> while Mr. Simpson came up his learned article, concerning the possibility of this play having been the work of Shakespeare, with the remark that "the internal evidence, though not sufficient by itself to establish Shakespeare's claim to the play, is not inconsistent with its being his if there is competent witness that it is so," which seems to me a statement praiseworthy for its caution.

Again, however, I must draw attention to the fact that the present investigation is not concerned with other than one question, i.e., in how far is the claim for Lodge's authorship justifiable. For conjectures regarding the hidden satire, supposed to be embodied in this play, upon contemporary authors, companies and actors, and for the question of Shakespeare's authorship or that of Wilson, Simpson and Fleay should be consulted.

Applying to this play the same tests by which all the foregoing plays have been judged, the results do not afford any particularly convincing reason why this work should ever have been attributed to Lodge.

The vocabulary, it is true, shows many words used frequently by Lodge elsewhere, but they are not here used with Lodgian love of repetition, and usually occur but once or twice in the play,

1. (con.) Signs of the Bible in Guilt-spur street without New-gate. 1631.

V. The School of Shakespeare. Rich. Simpson, Vol. 88.

2. Word, vol. I., 185.

1\*. Fleay. Life of Shak. pp. 12, 104. 235.



and then not in any strikingly characteristic manner.

Again the figures of speech, in general terms, are not unlike those used by Lodge, save that the classical allusions, for which he elsewhere shows particular fondness, are here conspicuously absent.

The blank verse of this play, in its large number of short lines and in its paucity of rhyming couplets, gives one the impression of decided dissimilarity to the blank verse of Lodge.

Note, for instance, the following passage with its many irregularities:—

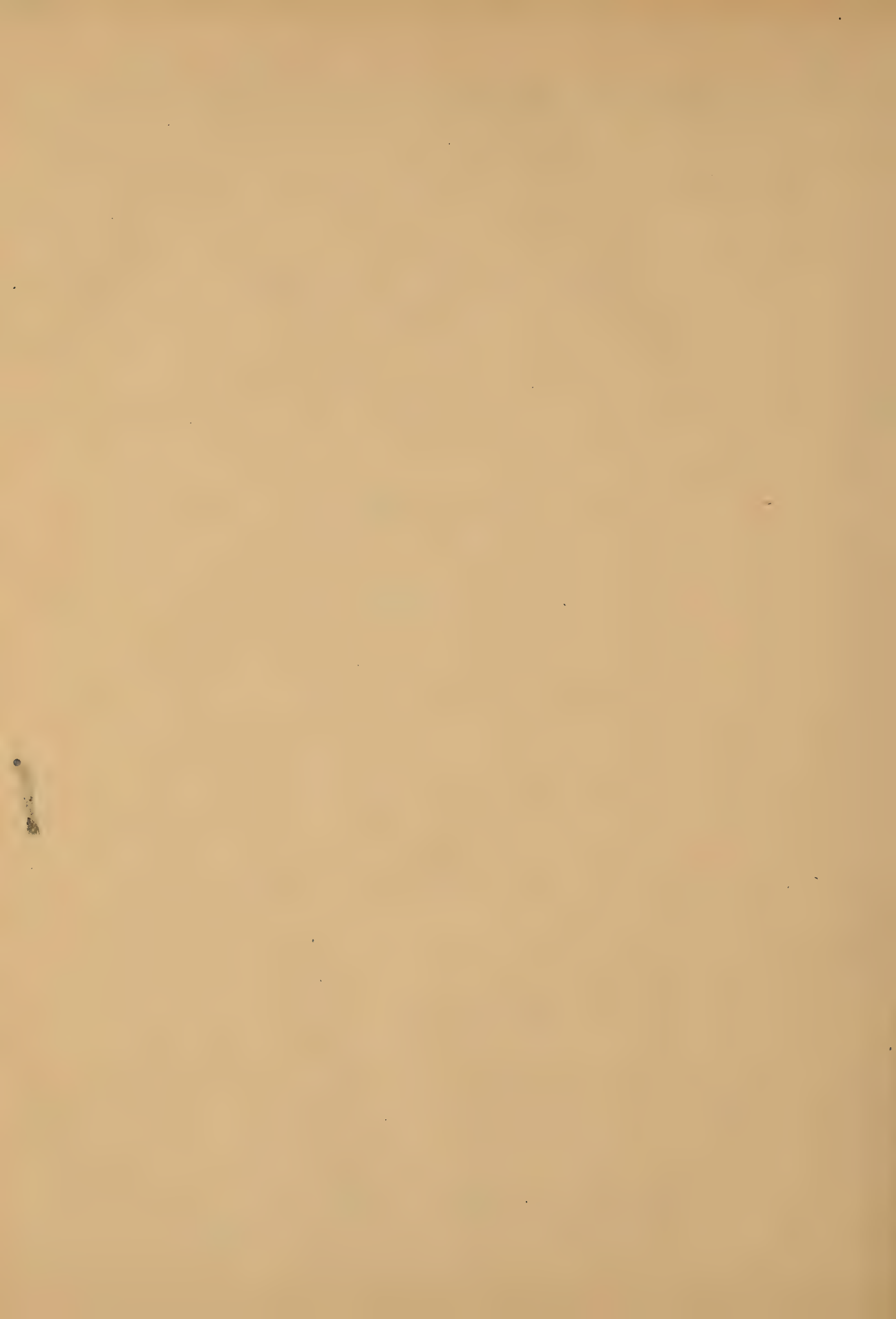
"Mariana, do not misconster me;  
I not mistrust thee, nor thy secreasy;  
Nor let my love misconster my intent,  
Nor think thereof but well and honorable—  
Thus stands the case:  
Thou knowest from England hither came with me  
Robert of Windsor, a noble man at arms,  
Lusty and valiant, in spring time of his years,  
No marvel then though he prove amorous."

E. 434.

or the following:—

Ma. "May, that was Mariana;  
Who wrongfully thou detainest prisoner.  
Eu. Shameless persisting in thy ill!  
Thou dost maintain a manifest untroth,  
As she shall justify unto thy teeth.  
Resistie, perch her and the Marages hither."





How different is this from the versification of "Marius and Sylla."

Since the name of Lodge has been connected with this play in so indefinite a manner, I feel that but little space should be taken up with what I have to say on the subject, and, without going into farther detail, would merely state that the results obtained from the analysis of "Faide Em" afford no adequate reason for attributing the play to Lodge.

#### 4. Mucedorus.<sup>1</sup>

This most delightful little comedy has been preyed upon for many years by voracious German critics who, beginning with the tempting question of Shakespeare's supposed authorship, have worried over the last bone of textual criticism and emendation. Tieck, Delius, Sachs, Elze, Wagner, Friesen, Warnke and Proescholdt have all been concerned in the dismemberment of this unoffending drama: but, unfortunately, they have not vouchsafed much information regarding the question with which this essay is concerned.

1. A most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus the King's Son of Valentia and Amadine the Kings daughter of Arragon, with the merie conceits of mouse. Newly set forth, as it hath bin sundrie times plaide in the honorable Cittie of London. very delectable and full of mirth. London printed for William Jones. dwelling at Holborne Conduit, at the Signe of the Sunne. 1598. 4°. An edition of 1606 is mentioned in "Beauclerc's Catalogue" 1781, v. Fazlill.

Other editions appeared in 1610, 1613, 1615, 1619, 1668, &c.

V. Dodsley's Old Plays. Vol. VII.

Date of first production is according to Fleay C.1588.

V. Chron. Eng. Dr. Vol. II., p.49.



121.  
That the play is not a juvenile production of Shakespeare, however, has long also been proved by Bellin and others.

Although the earliest edition known did not appear until 1597, Mr. Fleay fixes the date of the first presentation of the play C. 1582,—the Company being that of the Queen's men, and, by the process of exclusion, he assigns it to Lodge, saying that no other author connected with the Queen's men at that time could have written it, for it is evidently not by Marlowe, Greene, Peele or Dekker.

Simpson also has connected the name of Lodge with this play, saying "the poet 'Musidore' addressed by Chettle in England's Mourning Garment is either Thomas Lodge or Thomas(?) Greene. The author of so favorite a play may have drawn his pastoral name from it!"<sup>2</sup>

Simpson further invites a comparison between the versification of "Mucedorus" and that of the Wounds of Civil War. This comparison certainly does yield many correspondences. The following passages may be quoted as quite characteristic of Lodge's style:—

Muc. Stay, lady, stay; and be no more dismay'd;  
That cruel beast, most merciless and fell,  
Which hath bereaved thousands of their lives,  
Affrighted many with his hard pursues,  
Prying from place to place to find his prey,  
Prolonging thus his life by others' death,  
His carcase now lies headless, void of breath. P.209.

1. Fleay: Chron. Eng. Dr., II., 49-50.

2. W. Simpson: New Shak. Soc. I. (1-3) p. 157.



or

"

Amalino. The bear, being eager to obtain his prey,  
Made forward to us with an open mouth,  
As if he meant to swallow us both at once,  
The sight whereof did make us both to dread,  
But specially your daughter Amalino,  
Who for I saw no succour incident,  
But in Segasto's valour, I grew desperate,  
And he most coward-like began to fly,  
Left me distress'd to be devoured of him--  
How say you, Segasto? is it not true?"

P. 222.

In both these extracts which are typical examples of the blank verse of this play we have the prevailingly decasyllabic line, the weighted endings and the smoothness which distinguishes Lodge's work.

Rhyming couplets also are found from time to time, and in two passages, which will be quoted below, appear devices in rhyme which are quite after the manner of Lodge.

In the first of these passages the idea of an echo is conceived and the effect produced is very similar to that of the echo in "Marina and Sulla." (p. 148)

(1). Ereno. "Why, then, dost thou ravine at me?

If thou wilt love me, thou shalt be my queen:

I will crown thee with a couplet made of ivory,

And make the rose and lily wait on thee.





I'll rend the burly branches from the oak,

To shadow thee from burning sun:

The trees shall spread themselves where thou dost go;

And as they spread, I'll trace along with thee.

Amadine. You may; for who but you? (aside)

Breno. Thou shalt be fed with quails and partridges,

With blackbirds, larks, thrushes, and nightingales,

Thy drink shall be goats' milk and chrystal water,

Distill'd from the fountains and the clearest springs,

And all the dainties that the woods afford

I'll freely give thee to obtain thy love.

Amadine. You may; for who but you? (aside) "

Pp: 241-42.

And so the dialogue continues, Amadine repeating this refrain again and again.

The second extract shows the ingenious alternating of couplets and single unrhymed lines:—

(2) King. "The slaughter of this bear deserves great fame.

Segasto. The slaughter of a man deserves great blame.

King. Indeed occasion oftentimes so falls out.

Segasto. Tremelio in the wars, O King, preserved thee.

Amadine. The shepherd in the woods, O King, preserved me.

Segasto. Tremelio fought, when many men did yield.

Amadine. So would the shepherd had he been in field.

Clown. So would my master had he not run away.

Segasto. Tremelio's force saved thousands from the foe.



Amadine. The shepherd's force hath saved thousands mo.

Olorn. All, shipsticks, nothing else. (Aside)

E. 224.

The rather archaic vocabulary also resembles Lodge. Such words as "brooks," "coolind-card," "dobe," "drifte," "erectile," "beseeems," "frolic," (adj.) "methinks," "sith," "wend," are used, while adjectives ending in "less," such as "endless," "hapless," "headless," "luckless," "restless," "witless," are employed with Lodgian frequency.

Other parts of speech also are made to do duty as nouns:-

"If any spark of human rest in thee

Forbear; begone; tender the suit of me."

Muc. 204.

or

"That cruel beast, most merciless and fell,

Which hath bereaved thousands of their lives,

Affrighted many with his hard pursues, &c.

Muc. 209.

Compare "Marius and Sylla" "resist"(noun) p.186; also "Rosalynde"

"Clear"(noun) Pp. 28. 35. &c., &c.

Although among the similes and metaphors of "Mucedorus" there are not found any very striking parallels to those occurring in "Marius and Sylla" or in other of Lodge's known works, yet in a more general sense they are quite similar and we surely might credit Lodge with some originality in allusion and not expect him always to harp on the same themes.



Such passages as the following may be quoted as characteristic:-

"When heaps of harms do hover overhead,  
'T is time, as then, some say, to look about."

Muc. 211.

"The chrystal eyes of heaven shall not thrice wink  
Nor the green flood six times his shoulders turn."

Muc. 238.

"Break heart and end my pallid woes."

Muc. 253.

"The thanks that Paris gave the Grecian queen.

Muc. 229.

"And pray we both together with our hearts,  
That she thrice Nestor's years may with us rest."

Muc. 259.

The frequent playing upon words which occurs in the comedy scenes reminds us also of Lodge:-

Segasto. Go to, Sirrah. Leaving thus idle talk, give ear to me.

Clown. How, give you one of my ears? Not, and you were ten masters.

Muc. 235.

Of.

"Now Rome must stoop, for Marius and his friends  
Have left their arms, and trust unto their heels."

"Marius and Sulla," 119.

"Curtaile your tale"

"Marius and Sulla," p. 121.





But it is the general conception and a certain peculiar prettiness of the whole play which principally incline me to think that it may have been written by Lodge. It has a pastoral tinge which in many respects reminds us of "Rosalynde." Mucedorus disguises himself as a shepherd, and the principal part of the action takes place in a forest where the heroine first encounters a bear, and afterwards falls into the clutches of a "wild man."

The play is exceedingly romantic, yet simple in plot and simple in treatment. But few personages are involved, and these are all drawn with great distinctness, though, of course, in a play of this kind there could be no attempt at development of character.

In summing up I should say that the weight of internal evidence as regards versification, vocabulary, idiom, mannerism, figure of speech and general conception is entirely in favour of the assumption that Thomas Lodge was the probable author of this play; and certainly if Francis Meres connected the name of Lodge with "Mucedorus" he was quite justified when he wrote of this author that he was among those who were "best for comedy."



### Conclusions.

Upon the basis of the investigation pursued the following conclusions may be drawn:-

1. That, of the nineteen plays attributed to Lodge, three are to be excluded on external evidence, viz:- (1) Lady Alimony, (2) Luminaria, (3) Three Laws of Nature.

2. That eight plays are to be excluded on internal evidence, either by reason of total unlikeness in style to known works of Lodge, or through lack of data sufficient to warrant their attribution to him. These are:- (1) Liberality and Prodigality. (2) A Larum for London. (3) George a Greene. (4) James IV. (5) The First Part of the Contention. (6) The Tremblesome Balance of King John. (7) Taming of a Shrew. (8) Faire Em.

3. That Lodge may possibly have had a hand in the following four plays: (1) Selinus, (2) First Part of Henry VI. (3) The True Tragedy. (4) King Lear.

4. That Lodge probably wrote (1) Mucedorus. (2) A Warning for Faire Women,—that is to say, if supplementary evidence were forthcoming to corroborate his claim to these plays that the internal evidence in respect to general and particular characteristics of style is not incompatible, in fact is quite in accordance with the assumption of his authorship.

Although these results may seem somewhat disappointing in their indefiniteness and in their general negative quality, yet it seems to me that, considering the character and limitations of the



date, and the almost total lack of contemporary evidence regarding the dramatic career of Lodge, that these negative results are the only logical outcome of the enquiry.

It is always a risky proceeding to attribute plays or indeed any form of literature to an author upon internal evidence alone. Because he is found at one time in his life to have written in a certain manner is not a conclusive proof that he will ever after write in the same style. Many things unknown may come in to influence and, perhaps, to completely change an author's style, and if he is at all popular he may have imitators clever enough to counterfeit him almost beyond detection, especially when the imitation is viewed from the distance of three hundred years.

An author's style was perhaps especially liable to change in the Elizabethan age when literary modes sprang up, flourished and ran to seed in remarkably short order. It was an age which loved experiment and novelty.

But things far more subtle than literary modes have to be taken into account, and one of the most perplexing of enigmas is that of literary parody.

Elizabethan literature is crammed with covert allusions to contemporary authors and contemporary works, and we have no means of telling how many of these allusions may be lost to us in these later days. Enough, however, is discernible to make us aware that the ground upon which we tread is very uncertain. Similarities in style may, after all, be only simulated similarities, and learned hypotheses may have no firmer foundation than some old joke current among





the wits of the day.

Again the collaboration among the little group of writers to which Lodge belonged is known to have been very close. These men alternately worked together and fought against each other: and their published disagreements must have been the best of advertisements, a fact of which these literary cony-catchers must have been fully aware and which they doubtless turned to the greatest possible advantage.

Admiring and envying, loving and hating each other, each individual of this little group could not fail to be influenced by the others, and the obvious result is a blending of individual characteristics which makes it, at times, wholly impossible to decide whether Greene may not be writing in the style of Lodge, Lodge endeavoring to imitate Greene, or one or the other trying to follow in the footsteps of Marlowe.

These are some of the problems which confront one in the judging of doubtful plays, and by this mention of a very few of the probabilities which have to be weighed in a matter of this kind, I hope to justify the very conservative view which I have taken of those plays which have been recently assigned to Lodge.

I may have erred on the side of seeming too skeptical in regard to the extent of the dramatic career of this interesting author, but I have at least on the other hand tried to avoid the using of doubtful plays as evidence in supporting other doubtful plays,— a method frequently pursued by Mr. Fleay.

In conclusion I will say that, though it seems probable that





Francis Meres' mention of Lodge, that he must have attained some celebrity in his own day as a dramatist, yet that much more evidence of a detailed character is needed before the extent of his dramatic career can be determined with any degree of confidence.



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